

NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE ACT OF 1980

HEARINGS
BEFORE THE
SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE
OF THE
UNITED STATES SENATE
NINETY-SIXTH CONGRESS
SECOND SESSION
ON
S. 2284
NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE ACT OF 1980

FEBRUARY 21, 28, MARCH 24, 25, 27, 31, APRIL 1, 2, AND 16, 1980



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[Established by S. Res. 400, 94th Cong., 2d Sess.]

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(II)

The Soviet military machine has been winning the victories and it is naive to suggest that our civilian intelligence agency, however reconstructed, will ever stop it.

CIA CRIMINAL ACTIVITY AND MISCONDUCT

I am presenting into evidence a letter on CIA letterhead from its General Counsel, John S. Warner, to Mr. Kevin Maroney, Deputy Assistant Attorney General of the Justice Department's Criminal Division. The letter provides a list of crimes committed by CIA personnel within the United States and refers to a secret agreement whereby such criminal activity would not be prosecuted. Murder, narcotics trafficking and embezzlement of government funds are among the offenses. The letter demonstrates that the CIA has a long history of concealing actual crimes.

I have also included clippings and documents describing the CIA's harboring of Nazi war criminals, the CIA's conduct of biological warfare experiments against United States' cities, CIA experiments to induce cancer and whooping cough. I could easily create a lengthy list.

The CIA is our intelligence agency and I believe we are all saddened and shamed for them when we hear such stories.

I perhaps along with you would like to forget these incidents. I might even prefer that they not be exposed if repetition were not so certain.

I represent several clients who have been the victims of the CIA's "official" violation of the law.

For two years my clients and I have stated that the CIA was responsible for the recruitment of the Americans who were captured and imprisoned or executed in Angola in 1976. Our charges were met with official denial.

I must inform you that John Stockwell, the CIA's Angola Task Force Commander, has for the first time reluctantly admitted that the CIA did fund the covert recruitment of Americans while in the United States to fight in Angola.

If Mr. Stockwell's account is true then many officials of the Justice Department, the State Department and the CIA have given less than truthful accounts to Congressional committees, to the families of the victims and to the courts.

Their false denials may also have contributed to the execution of Daniel Gearhart. They served as additional accusations against him before and during his trial.

The Foreign Enlistment Act and the Neutrality Act apparently must be added to the list of criminal statutes ignored by the CIA.

This official indifference to the plight of Gary Acker and the suffering of Sheila Gearhart and her four children, is especially disturbing in light of President Ford's statement that the captured Americans had violated neither United States' law nor international law.

Nevertheless just last month the State Department admitted that they have never even asked for Gary's release. This after four years of assurances that they were doing everything possible to bring the young man home.

In the last several days I have been confronted with evidence of new serious wrongdoing on the part of the CIA. A report by the Chicago Defender, a daily Chicago newspaper, states that Phillip Blakey, a trusted aide of Jim Jones who was sent to Guyana in 1974 to establish the Jonestown settlement, was working in 1975 for the CIA. While a member of the Peoples Temple he reportedly served as a mercenary in Angola and recruited mercenaries for the CIA financed Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA).

We are trying to find out if his recruitment activities were connected with the covert operation described by John Stockwell. According to the Chicago Defender, a former top administrator in the Guyanese government and other sources have identified Blakey as an employee of the CIA in Angola.

According to testimony provided to the House subcommittee on International Operations by Joseph Holsinger, Administrative Assistant to the late Representative Leo J. Ryan,

"There are credible reports that it (the CIA's operation) included covert support for him (Jones) as an ally of Forbes Burnham. Specifically, the Peoples Temple provided funds to the Burnham group and also acted as a terrorist organization to intimidate the opponents of the Burnham regime."

Richard Dwyer, the Deputy Chief of Mission at the United States Embassy in Guyana, was identified in the San Mateo Times of December 14, 1979, as the CIA's Chief of Station in Guyana.

Dwyer's connection with the CIA is also reported in a 1968 publication *Who's Who in the CIA*.

A tape recording is presently in the possession of the FBI which places Dwyer at the scene of the mass death.

Holsinger in his testimony charges,

"It seems almost certain now that our intelligence sources were aware that charges that American citizens were being held in bondage were true, and that they allowed that condition to continue in the interests of their mission. They also withheld that information from Members of Congress, including Leo Ryan, and from desperate relatives who pleaded for government assistance for their loved ones."

Mr. Holsinger apparently suspects that the CIA may have been involved in Congressman Ryan's murder.

After the recent hearings on the Jonestown massacre, the House Foreign Affairs Committee sent a letter signed by its chairman, Congressman Clement J. Zablocki, and Congressman Dante B. Fascell, and Congressman William S. Broomfield, and Congressman John Buchanan, requesting the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence to review allegations related to CIA involvement and to report its findings.

Obviously these charges should be thoroughly investigated before any decisions are made concerning the removal of restraints on the CIA.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR RECONSTRUCTION OF THE CIA

With respect to the FOIA, the provisions of S 2216 and S 2284 respectively, should be replaced with those of HR 6820—Congressman Les Aspin's proposed charter bill.

With respect to the Snepp/AgEE provisions, language should be added to eliminate any penalty for an agent's decision to reveal his own identity.

Language should be included to allow the exposure of personnel guilty of criminal or gross misconduct.

I would also recommend that language be included similar to that suggested by the ACLU, in its testimony before this Committee, to provide a civil remedy for those seeking redress for wrongs inflicted upon them by the CIA.

In closing, I would further recommend that you examine the early history of the CIA. The 1947 Act and the 1949 enabling legislation make it clear that the CIA was conceived primarily as an intelligence coordinating agency which would rely on the military for intelligence gathering and for the conduct of operations. I would suggest that you hear testimony from military men concerning the feasibility of a return to the original concept. General Lyman Lemnitzer or Col. Fletcher Prouty should be able to evaluate the merits of this recommendation.

Because of the CIA's poor record in every category I urge you to consider the possibility of returning the responsibilities of the CIA's clandestine services to the military where at the very least the concepts of duty, honor and country still have a meaning that we can all recognize.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee, for this opportunity to testify.

[Telegram]

Washington, D.C., July 10, 1976.

Mrs. DANIEL GEARHART,
Lanham, Md.

I was deeply saddened to hear of the execution of your husband in Angola. Daniel Gearhart's death was a barbarous act contrary to the law of nations and unjustified by any evidence of crime or wrongdoing. Such an act can have no sanction among civilized nations.

Many nations and organizations around the world joined us in appealing to President Neto to spare your husband's life. We can only regret that these appeals were not successful.

I hope you and your children will accept my sincerest condolences at your tragic loss.

Sincerely,

GERALD R. FORD.

[From the San Francisco Chronicle, Dec. 17, 1979]

WHOOPIING COUGH DEATHS AND THE CIA

WASHINGTON, D.C.—The CIA may have conducted open-air tests of whooping-cough bacteria in Florida in the mid-1950s when, state medical records show,

Case No. 10.—This case involved the theft of a two-way radio. We discussed the case with Robert Rosthal of the Criminal Division who stated that in view of the security problem involved, prosecutive action would be inadvisable.

Case No. 11.—This case involved the embezzlement of Agency funds. It was discussed with Frederick Curley, Civil Division, and with Marvin Helter and E. Lamar Sledge of the Criminal Division, Department of Justice on 21 September 1979. The Department of Justice indicated that because of the security considerations involved they would leave it to us to decide whether to prosecute. Our records do not include a decision to prosecute.

Case No. 12.—This case involved an attempt by an Agency employee to defraud the U.S. Government by filing a false death benefits claim with the Veterans Administration. On 22 September 1960, the Veterans Administration referred the case to the U.S. Attorney for the District of Columbia who declined to prosecute on jurisdictional grounds. He stated he would not have prosecuted in any event because only \$70 was involved. The Veterans Administration then submitted the case on 24 October 1960, to the U.S. Attorney for the Eastern District of Virginia who declined to prosecute because the case was too minor.

Case No. 13.—This case involved an Agency employee who was indicted 31 May 1955, in the U.S. District Court, Southern District of Florida, for violation 22 U.S.C. 452. We asked William Foley, Executive Assistant, Internal Security Division, Department of Justice to drop the case on national security grounds in a memorandum dated 19 December 1957. We were advised that the case was *not* processed on 13 January 1958.

Case No. 14.—This case involved the theft of \$418.20 of government funds by an Agency employee. We discussed this case with Mr. Schauer, Chief, General Crimes Section, Criminal Division, Department of Justice on 10 January 1957. According to our records Grand Jury action was to take place on 13 March 1957. We have located no further information about the disposition of the case.

Case No. 15.—This case involved a violation of 18 U.S.C. 1001—falsification of official government papers relating to the application for federal employment and for a clearance. This case was discussed with Walter Yeagley, Internal Security Division, Department of Justice and Emanuel Kosack, Chief, Fraud Section of the Criminal Division, Department of Justice. Mr. Kosack reported that Justice was considering an indictment, but that there was serious doubt as to whether they would prosecute because certain security information might have to be released. He indicated that the Department would keep us informed, but our records do not indicate the final disposition of the case.

Case No. 16.—This case involved a murder which took place outside the United States. Allegations were made that two Agency employees helped dispose of the body. The DCI discussed the case with the Attorney General in October 1955. The Attorney General's Office did not take any action "due to the legal jurisdictional restrictions involved."

Case No. 17.—An Agency employee impersonated a military officer. The case was discussed with Justin W. Williams, Assistant U.S. Attorney on 2 August 1971.

Case No. 18.—A conflict of interest charge was raised against an Agency employee involved in a government contract. The case was discussed with Mr. Cregar, FBI Liaison Officer, on 9 August 1966.

Case No. 19.—An Agency employee admitted theft of \$1,700 of government funds. The case was discussed with William E. Foley and James P. O'Brien, General Crimes Section, Criminal Division on 1 February 1961.

Case No. 20.—A CIA employee embezzled several thousand dollars over a period of 16 months. The case and the attendant security problems were discussed with the Criminal Division, Department of Justice on 24 February 1967.

[Additional details concerning these 20 cases appear in the appendix.]

ATTACHMENT 2

[From the San Mateo Times, Dec. 14, 1979]

CIA AGENT WITNESSED JONESTOWN MASS SUICIDE

(By Rick Sullivan and Karen Petterson)

An agent of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency traveled to the Guyanese jungle colony of Jonestown immediately following the assassination of Rep. Leo

J. Ryan and witnessed the murder/suicide ritual orchestrated by the maniacal Rev. Jim Jones, The Times has learned.

Government sources have confirmed that a CIA agent assigned to the U.S. embassy in the Guyanese capital arrived at the commune as People Temple members collapsed and died of the lethal cyanide/softdrink concoctions.

State Department officials acknowledge that a CIA agent was dispatched to Jonestown within minutes of the airstrip assault. However, they will not disclose how the agent got there, his specific assignment or his identity.

But The Times has learned that the FBI has a tape recording recovered from the agricultural commune that apparently places Richard Dwyer, deputy chief of the U.S. embassy, inside Jonestown while more than 900 Americans died.

As second in command at the embassy, Dwyer reportedly was the CIA agent in charge of all intelligence activities in Guyana.

Dwyer took charge of the San Mateo congressman's fact-finding party upon their arrival in Georgetown, briefed the party on Jonestown activities, arranged for planes to transport the group to and from the jungle colony, and escorted the group to the commune.

The deputy chief was at the Port Kaituma airstrip Nov. 18, 1979, when Peoples Temple assassins opened fire, killing Ryan, three newsmen and a temple defector. Dwyer was one of 10 persons injured in the attack. He was wounded slightly in the leg.

A source concludes that Dwyer left those who had survived the ambush sometime after the shooting, went back to Jonestown and then returned to the group.

Millbrae investigator Joseph Mazor, who has been delving into People's Temple activities for three years, says the tape recording held by the FBI contains a statement about Dwyer by Jones during the suicides.

Mazor quotes Jones on the tape as shouting repeatedly over the din and confusion of the ghastly death ritual "Get Dwyer out of here!"

Mazor is an expert in analyzing voices on tapes. He has served as a consultant in this field to various law enforcement agencies.

Mazor would not reveal under what conditions he listened to the tape.

FBI agents in San Francisco and George R. Berdes, staff consultant for the House Committee on Foreign Affairs and director of the investigation of the Ryan assassination, independently confirm that federal authorities have a tape on which Jones says, "Get Dwyer out of here."

Berdes, however, does acknowledge that much of the tape recording is inaudible and confusing, mixed with loud music and screaming in the background.

Although Berdes and FBI agents agree that the "Dwyer" Jones refers to is, indeed, the deputy embassy chief, they do not believe Dwyer was actually at the compound.

Dwyer, reached today by The Times at the U.S. Embassy in Guyana, said he knew of the existence of the tape but denied that he returned to Jonestown after the airstrip ambush.

"Jones was obviously mistaken he said. "I was shot, you know."

Dwyer said that he had made an arrangement with Jones to stay overnight at the compound after Ryan's party was to have left Nov. 18 to await a plane the following day to take People's Temple defectors back to Georgetown.

"He (Jones) apparently thought that I was still there at the compound when he made his comment."

The deputy embassy chief said he spent the night with the wounded at the Port Kaituma airstrip and did not leave until around 5 p.m. Nov. 19, when the wounded were transported to the Guyanese capital.

In his two-inch thick investigative report presented to the 34-member Committee on Foreign Affairs last May, Berdes made no reference to the portion of the tape on Dwyer about the Jones comment.

The FBI has not questioned Dwyer either. The deputy chief remains today at the embassy in Guyana, and government officials there refuse to allow FBI agents into the country.

Berdes says that at the time his investigators interviewed Dwyer, they were not aware of the existence of the tape. Later, when the tape was given to him, he says he listened to it and concluded that Jones was mistaken.

"We thought it (questioning Dwyer again) would be pointless," said Berdes. "I think what happened was that Jones mistook someone else for Dwyer (who had visited the commune several times before the massacre). He (Jones) was under extreme pressure, he only thought he saw Dwyer."

FBI agents proffered the same theory that Jones was delirious and that Dwyer could not have been present at the camp.

Berdes argues that there is "credible evidence" that Dwyer stayed with the survivors after the airstrip shooting and spent the night with them.

But ambush survivors, including Ryan's aide, Jackie Speler, are not convinced that Dwyer could not have somehow returned to Jonestown.

Miss Speler, who was wounded in the attack, said that Dwyer's leg injuries were not debilitating, that he was able to walk with little difficulty and, in fact, left the group on several occasions.

Another survivor, who asked not to be named, recalls that Dwyer left "two or three times" after the airstrip shooting, saying he would attempt to make radio contact with the embassy.

"I would say," the survivor offers, "That Dwyer was gone more than he was there with us."

The survivor notes that there was a truck at Port Kaituma, but cannot remember Dwyer used it. The Jonestown camp is approximately four miles from the airstrip.

Miss Speler also tells of several incidents which she claims raise questions about Dwyer and his role in Jonestown.

She explains that when embassy officials briefed the Ryan party on activities at the colony, a slide show was presented and conducted by Dwyer. One slide, she recalls, shows a smiling Dwyer in Jonestown with his arms around Jim Jones and his wife, Marceline.

"It was like a family photo, and I remember thinking how strange it seemed that a professional U.S. embassy official should be acting this way."

The former Ryan aide also says he still is annoyed at the disappearance of tape recorders and tapes belonging to her and Ryan.

Miss Speler says that Ryan and she taped and took notes of interviews they conducted with temple members after they were allowed into the commune by Jones. The recorder, the tapes and the notes were placed in briefcase, also containing \$1,000 in cash and other documents.

When Ryan and his party departed Jonestown for the airstrip, the congressman, Miss Speler recalls, gave the briefcase to Dwyer.

Miss Speler says that when the briefcase was later returned to her, the tapes, the notes and the recorders were missing. The cash and other paper remained enclosed.

Dwyer counters Miss Speler's account, claiming Ryan never gave him the briefcase, but that he picked it up off the airstrip after the ambush.

"I don't recall seeing any tapes in the case, but I think I remember a small recorder—I'm not 100 percent sure.

"I suppose that someone got in the briefcase very quickly. The only time it was out of my sight is when I helped load the wounded onto the plane," says Dwyer.

The deputy embassy chief said he gave the briefcase to Jim Schollaert, a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, when he returned to Georgetown.

FBI agents, Miss Speler says, questioned her twice when she returned to the United States.

"All they wanted to know about was the tape recorders and the tape."

The Justice Department will not confirm if they have located the tapes or if they have custody of them.

State Department sources acknowledge that a CIA agent did travel to Jonestown immediately following the airstrip assault, but they emphatically deny that the agent was Dwyer.

Department sources instead say that an agent, whom they would not identify, was dispatched from inside the U.S. embassy in Georgetown to the jungle commune, but only after word was received from the airstrip that Ryan and others had been murdered.

That word came within minutes of the ambush, and sources claim it was one of the airplane pilots hired by embassy officials who radioed the information.

Statements linking U.S. embassy officials with the Peoples Temple were made as early as May 1978, when a temple defector took her story to government officials.

Debbie Blakey, who deserted the temple commune, charged that embassy officials in Georgetown were "extremely close" to Jones. She said that the one embassy officer, Richard McCoy, who is currently assigned to the Guyana desk at

the State Department, warned her not to take her assertions of oppression and possible mass suicide in Jonestown to the press.

A few days after that warning, she said, she received a letter, apparently from Jones, that referred to conversation with McCoy and threatened her life if she took complaints to the press.

Mrs. Blakey is the sister of cult member Larry Layton, the only person facing charges stemming from the airstrip massacre. Layton was recently ordered to stand trial in Guayana on murder and conspiracy charges.

Allegations of a close alliance between U.S. officials and temple members were also made by Mazor, who made several trips to the jungle outpost. His clients were local parents of temple members.

He also says he took warnings to the embassy on the activities around Jonestown, specifically that there were weapons in the camp.

Mazor contends that Dwyer gave a copy of his (Mazor's) report to temple members during a cocktail party at the temple's Georgetown home.

"I know he did it because (temple member) Tim Carter called me from Georgetown and read me the report—my report to the consul general referring to the guns and a lot of other things," Mazor reports.

Carter, a top Jones aide, escaped from the jungle massacre scene and is now living in Idaho.

ATTACHMENT 3

WHO'S WHO IN CIA

[Published by Julius Mader, 1066 Berlin W. 66, Mauerstrasse 69]

A biographical reference work on 3,000 officers of the civil and military branches of the secret services of the USA in 120 countries.

Dwyer, Richard Alan; b.: 3, 5, 1933; L.: French; from 1957 in Department of State; from 1959 work for CIA; OpA: Damascus, Cairo (2nd Secretary), Washington.

STATEMENT OF JOE HOLSINGER, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT TO THE LATE REPRESENTATIVE LEO J. RYAN

I would like to express my appreciation to Chairman Fascell for convening these oversight hearings. I know that Leo Ryan had the highest personal regard for Mr. Fascell. He considered him to be his mentor on this committee and his friend.

I also want to thank Rep. Bill Royer for his role in pressing for these hearings. His efforts have earned him the respect of everyone who was touched by the tragedy in Guyana in November, 1978. It is an irony of fate that this subcommittee is one on which Leo Ryan served and worked closely with members who are here today.

The conduct of this open Congressional hearing can help to determine if our government withheld vital information from Rep. Leo Ryan, and if his death and the death of over 900 persons could have been averted.

Leo went to Guyana in a last ditch effort to determine the validity of serious charges made about Jim Jones and the Peoples Temple in Jonestown. Rep. Ryan had received detailed allegations that at least some of the more than 900 Americans there were being held against their will under brutal, inhuman circumstances. He would not have led a Congressional delegation there if the facts could have been determined any other way.

Rep. Royer's office has informed me that the purpose of these oversight hearings is "to determine what the State Department has done to implement the recommendations contained in the Foreign Affairs Committee staff report and the State Department report on the performance of the State Department in the Jonestown matter".

The recommendations appear to be useful and, if implemented properly, they should improve the quality of State Department performance overseas. One of the most difficult areas is that of review of exemption provisions under the Privacy Act and the Freedom of Information Act. It is clear that the Privacy Act was interpreted by the State Department to deny Representative Ryan access to pertinent information concerning Jim Jones and the Peoples Temple in Guyana.

It is also clear that the Freedom of Information Act was interpreted by State Department personnel in such a way as to provide complete access to Jim Jones about inquiries or actions concerning Jones and the Peoples Temple. Our experience in the Ryan office in that regard is detailed in the attached news story in the San Mateo Times of 12/6/78, "Somehow the Word Would Get to Peoples Temple" (Exhibit A). That free flow of information to Jones from the State Department, and the reasons for it, have never been properly addressed. Was it de-facto State Department policy or was it the work of a few key officials with close ties to Jim Jones?

A major issue that has escaped scrutiny is the emphasis placed by the State Department on promoting American Commercial interests overseas as its first priority, to the detriment of the problems of individual U.S. citizens abroad. That issue was raised by Rep. Paul McCloskey in an interview published in the San Mateo Times on 12/8/78 "McCloskey Slams State Department" (Exhibit B).

The following is an excerpt from that news story:

"A congressional investigation of the Jonestown massacre is likely to show that the U.S. State Department was more concerned with promoting exportation of natural resources from Guyana than exposing injustices within Peoples Temple or protecting Americans visiting that country, Rep. Paul McCloskey told The Times Thursday.

The Republican congressman from Menlo Park who had worked with his slain colleague, Rep. Leo J. Ryan, for State Department intervention in the Jonestown commune, stated:

"I think an investigation will bring out that the Guyanese government had a relationship with (the Rev. Jim) Jones and that the U.S. Embassy (in Georgetown) knew about it, accepted it and didn't try to intrude.

"Based on my dealings with the State Department, I think it is apparent that the department was more concerned with getting along with the Guyanese . . . and promoting exports from that country than it was in protecting U.S. Citizens."

The most important mineral resources in Guyana are bauxite and manganese. Gold and diamonds also are mined. Bauxite is the principal source of aluminum.

McCloskey said it is the "inherent mission" of all U.S. embassies, as representatives of the president, to place more emphasis on maintaining an amiable relationship with a host country and promoting exports than looking after the interests of citizens abroad.

He said it is his hope that the investigation will result in an order by the House International Relations Committee that embassies take a "stronger position" on the well-being of Americans."

I find nothing in the State Department recommendations that remotely touches on this matter.

One of the State Department recommendations most pertinent to the Guyana tragedy was Item G (1) which stated:

"G. The Department should strengthen its support for Congressional delegations travelling overseas. We endorse the current efforts of the Department to provide: (1) more definitive threat assessments in areas to be visited by Congressional groups;"

Threat assessments, to be effective, must necessarily include current intelligence data from the area involved. The question is whether the results of such intelligence data will be shared with Congressional delegations or withheld from them. The record shows that no such intelligence data was made available to Leo Ryan concerning Guyana. In fact, the State Department denied knowledge of any intelligence data concerning the Peoples Temple in Guyana in its report of 12/13/78 from Douglas Bennet, Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations, to Rep. Clement Zablocki, Chairman of the International Relations Committee. Question #8 from Chairman Zablocki asked:

"Were the activities of the Peoples' Temple Church investigated by the FBI and/or other U.S. Government agencies and, if so, were their findings made available to the Department of State?"

The State Department response was:

"The Department of Justice has informed the Department that it conducted no investigations of the Peoples' Temple prior to the death of Congressman Ryan. We have been informed that the Federal Communications Commission investigated use of amateur radio stations by the Peoples' Temple to determine whether that use violated the Federal Communications Act of 1934.

The Department is unaware of any other investigations that may have been

conducted by other U.S. Government agencies of the Peoples' Temple or its activities other than the single report of the Customs investigation noted in our response to Question 7 above."

That response can be true only if you believe that U.S. government intelligence operations in Guyana were completely shielded from the State Department. Our government did have an intelligence presence in Guyana prior to Leo Ryan's trip there. I know that an agent of the Central Intelligence Agency witnessed his death. On the afternoon of November 18, 1978, I received two phone calls in California from Washington, D.C. The first was from the Caribbean Desk at the State Department. I had been in touch with them several times that day because of my concern over Leo's presence at Jonestown and the potential danger there.

The State Department caller told me that they had just received a report from the American Embassy in Georgetown of a shooting incident at the Port Kaituma airstrip. The report said that three people had been killed and fifteen wounded, and that Rep. Ryan may have been one of those killed.

Within fifteen minutes, I had a second phone call, this time from a member of the White House staff whom I know personally. He told me that five people had been killed, including Leo. When I said that his information differed from that which I just received from the State Department, he responded, "Joe, our information is correct. We have a CIA report from the scene".

The White House aide then asked my assistance in identifying the other four persons by describing their roles. Because of my familiarity with the mission, I was able to identify Don Harris and the TV newscaster, Bob Brown as the TV cameraman and Greg Robinson as the still photographer.

Since a CIA agent was present at the assassination of Congressman Ryan, it seems reasonable to assume that our government had received prior reports on the Peoples Temple.

Further confirmation of CIA activities in Guyana are contained in a San Mateo Times news story of 12/14/79, "CIA Agent Witnessed Jonestown Mass Suicide," (Exhibit C), I have been informed that House rules forbid specific charges against named individuals in open session, but I am ready to discuss such charges against more than one individual in Executive Session if this Committee chooses to hear them.

I believe that the tragic consequences of withholding intelligence data from Leo Ryan in Guyana should serve as a warning to all future Congressional delegations abroad. Unless the Congress insists on the inclusion of such data in State Department threat assessments, the ability of Congress to fulfill its fact-finding and investigative responsibilities will be at the mercy of the Executive Branch of the government.

It also appears that existing law may have been broken by the Central Intelligence Agency in failing to report to the appropriate Committees in Congress on its covert activities in Guyana. In December of 1974, as an amendment to the Foreign Aid Act, Congress approved a provision sponsored by Harold Hughes of Iowa in the Senate and by Leo Ryan of California in the House. This is what it said:

"No funds appropriated under the authority of this or any other act may be expended by or on behalf of the CIA for operations in foreign countries, other than activities intended solely for obtaining necessary intelligence, unless and until the president finds that each such operation is important to the national security and reports, in a timely fashion, a description and scope of such operation to the appropriate committees of the Congress."

The CIA did have an operation in Guyana, in addition to the obtaining of necessary intelligence. That operation was specifically designed to support the government of Prime Minister Forbes Burnham, and there are credible reports that it included covert support for Jim Jones as an ally of Forbes Burnham. Specifically, the People's Temple provided funds to the Burnham group and also acted as a terrorist organization to intimidate the opponents of the Burnham regime. And the Burnham government was cooperative with our commercial interests and with the policy of the U.S. State Department in promoting the exportation of natural resources from Guyana.

It seems almost certain now that our intelligence sources were aware that charges that American citizens were being held in bondage were true, and that they allowed that condition to continue in the interests of their mission. They also withheld that information from members of Congress, including Leo Ryan, and from desperate relatives who pleaded for government assistance for their

loved ones. The Department of State consistently reassured such relatives that all was well at Jonestown. A typical example is the State Department response of 6/16/78 to Sherwin Harris of Lafayette, California, (Exhibit D).

By the time that Leo Ryan led the Congressional delegation to Guyana in November, 1978, the difficult question posed for our government was whether or not it should admit to Ryan that:

1. A covert intelligence operation existed in Guyana that had not been reported to appropriate committees in Congress as required by law;
2. American citizens were being held in Jonestown against their will;
3. Our government was using Jim Jones as an ally of the Burnham government to maintain its control of Guyana.

Someone, or some group, made the decision to "stonewall" the Ryan delegation. That was a fatal mistake, although at the time it must have appeared that Leo's mission would fail since it was obvious that neither our government, the government of Guyana nor Jim Jones wanted him in Guyana, or especially in Jonestown. Under those circumstances, it appeared very unlikely that one lone Congressman would be able to "kick down the doors", to use one of Leo's pet phrases. On the other hand, it was likely that if Leo Ryan had been given intelligence data indicating that American citizens were being held against their will under brutal circumstances, he would have used that information with the appropriate committee in Congress to force our government to free those people. Leo would not have had to go to Guyana. And all those deaths would have been averted.

News accounts from Georgetown at the time of the Ryan mission there said that Leo was winning the media or public-opinion battle against Jim Jones. Before Leo's departure for Guyana, he and I discussed his plan to go up to the gates of Jonestown, in the presence of the media, and request permission to enter. If such permission were refused, Leo would then return to Congress with proof that Jonestown was a closed settlement. If he was allowed to enter, he intended to assess the situation there fairly, but to insist on talking alone to specific people and to personally escort any one out who wished to leave.

When it became obvious that Leo Ryan was going to Jonestown even without prior agreement by Jim Jones, our government had its last chance to disclose the true nature of the situation there to Leo. Someone decided at this juncture to take the chance that Jones would be able to put on a show that would convince the Ryan group that all was well in Jonestown. It seems incredible to me that our government, knowing what it did about the situation inside Jonestown and the potential for violence there would take that chance. It is a terribly harsh question to ask, but is it possible that even the terrible tragedy that occurred was preferred over disclosure of our covert operation in Guyana?

In reviewing the adequacy of the recommendations from the State Department, the most significant omission is that of the presence of CIA personnel in key roles within the State Department. Their existence is known to our allies and to our potential enemies alike. It is a secret only from the American public. I believe that the CIA serves a vital and essential purpose in our national interest. I also understand that its personnel operate under orders from the National Security Agency and the President. Their work is often dangerous and they must be protected. It may be necessary under some circumstances for CIA personnel to use the cover of the State Department employees. However, such usage should be kept to an absolute minimum since it can obviously create radical mutations in policy and endanger the lives of American citizens abroad unless great care is taken.

If, as seems probable, our State Department policy towards the Peoples Temple and Guyana was dominated by the CIA operation there, the Department's laxness and indifference to petitions and complaints from refugees (or defectors) and from concerned relatives becomes more understandable. Some of the major petitions and affidavits which were ignored or "lost" included:

1. The Concerned Relatives' petition of May 10, 1978 to the Secretary of State; which included sworn notarized affidavits concerning the abuse of human rights by Jones.
2. The April 10, 1978 affidavit of Yolanda D. A. Crawford, a People's Temple defector, describing beatings and abuses in Jonestown.
3. The affidavits of May and June, 1978, by Debbie Blakey describing suicide rehearsals and other serious charges.

The State Department's response of June 26, 1978, to Ambassador Burke's telegram of June 6, 1978, was a clear rejection of Burke's request for permission to discuss the Jonestown situation with the Government of Guyana. It seems quite possible, in retrospect, that this rejection was influenced by intelligence agency considerations.

Some knowledgeable observers may argue that the deaths of Leo Ryan, the media members and over 900 American residents of Jonestown may be the price we had to pay to keep control of Guyana. Sort of a "that's war, folks; that's the way it is" attitude. But what if Guyana falls anyway, and soon? That spectre was raised in a news article from London and published in the San Francisco Chronicle on December 9, 1979, "Guyana May Be the Next to Fall" (Exhibit E).

That article detailed the desperate economic plight of the Guyanese people and their growing opposition, now estimated at 75 to 80 percent, to the Burnham government. It also discussed the use of violence by another U.S. based pseudo-religious group. This group, "The House of Israel", appears to be the strong-arm successor to the Peoples' Temple in support of Burnham. If the tragedy at Jonestown was in fact allowed to happen to protect the secrecy of our intelligence operations in Guyana, the ultimate tragedy when Guyana falls will be that it was in vain.

I submit that our government policy in the under-developed countries in the Caribbean is fatally flawed if it is based solely on the protection of U.S. commercial interests. We must be more supportive to the native economies in the Caribbean if we are to maintain our sphere of influence against Cuba and Russia.

Grenada, a small island nation near Guyana, has already been taken into the Communist sphere of influence, despite our support for the government of Sir Eric Gairy, which fell in March, 1979. It is of interest to note that Gairy and Jim Jones were close enough for Gairy to visit Jones at the Peoples' Temple in San Francisco prior to Jones' departure to Guyana. A photograph of the two together appears in a book "The Suicide Cult" written by a San Francisco Chronicle reporter, Ron Javers.

It has been reported that Jim Jones had planned to escape to Grenada with a select group of supporters following the mass murders in Jonestown. Jones did not intend to die in Jonestown. No paraffin tests were ever made on his hands to determine if he had fired a gun. It is now known that more than one million dollars of Peoples' Temple money was deposited in a Grenada bank. It should also be noted here that the pathology report by the Guyanese coroner showed that a high percentage of the victims examined were injected in the back with the poison. The proof was the blisters on the backs at the point of injection. We also know that an undetermined number of the Jonestown residents showed up in Grenada following the Jonestown tragedy.

My reason for going beyond a discussion of the recommendations by the State Department is that the fault may be with Government policy rather than with the day-to-day conduct of State Department employees. When a tragedy of this magnitude occurs, we should do more, much more, than be content with a surface examination of individual conduct.

I realize that many of the matters I have discussed today are beyond the purview of this subcommittee, or of any standing committee of the Congress. For that reason, I ask now for the formation of a Special House Committee with full power to investigate all aspects of the Jonestown tragedy, including its impact on our foreign policy and our relations with neighboring nations in the Caribbean.

Some of the questions to be addressed by such a Select Committee would include the following:

1. Is it State Department policy to make protection of American commercial interests abroad its top priority at the expense of the safety of American citizens?
2. To what extent is the CIA used to promote and protect American commercial interests abroad, in addition to its normal functions of gathering intelligence? Does such protection result in the creation of animosity toward our country by citizens of these nations?
3. Did our government use Jones and the Peoples Temple to support the Burnham government? If so, was the purpose to protect the commercial export of raw materials such as bauxite and manganese?
4. Were members of our intelligence agencies serving in key positions in our

Embassy in Guyana and in the State Department in Washington, D.C., and were they directed by our government to use those positions to control State Department conduct regarding complaints against the Peoples Temple?

5. Did our government knowingly acquiesce in the intolerable conditions of bondage at Jonestown in order to maintain control of the Guyanese government?

6. Was our government, through its intelligence operation, fully aware of the arms in Jonestown and the potential for violence there? If so, why did it fail to insist on armed protection by the Guyanese government for the Ryan mission? Was Leo Ryan set up for murder?

7. Did a member of the CIA, who was also a State Department official, go back into Jonestown after the killings at Port Kaituma and witness the mass murder/suicide scene there? If so, why?

8. Who killed Jim Jones and why?

9. Has the Administration used "National Security" as an excuse to cover up the monumental error of withholding vital information from Leo Ryan concerning Jim Jones and the Peoples Temple in Jonestown, an error that led directly to the tragedy?

I thank you for the opportunity to present this statement in an open hearing before this committee. My personal feelings about the tragic death of my good friend, Leo Ryan, are obvious. He is gone, but I believe that we should now proceed to examine fully the causes of this tragedy and to ensure that the errors leading to it are corrected for the good of our nation.

EXHIBIT A

[From the San Mateo Times, Dec. 6, 1978]

RYAN'S CALLS TO STATE DEPARTMENT—SOMEHOW THE WORD WOULD GET TO PEOPLES TEMPLE

(By John Horgan and Rick Sullivan)

Prior to the Nov. 18 suicide-murder of more than 900 persons in the Guyana settlement of the Rev. Jim Jones, the Peoples Temple possessed a sophisticated intelligence network which permitted the sect to obtain sensitive information rapidly from a number of government agencies, including the U.S. State Department.

According to Joe Holsinger, administrative aide to the late Rep. Leo Ryan, D-San Mateo, as soon as Ryan's office would make in inquiry of the State Department or provide data to that agency on Peoples Temple, letters would be forthcoming from cult members here in the Bay Area urging that Ryan desist in his efforts to probe the church's affairs.

"We began to think there might be a connection, where as soon as we would contact the State Department, somehow the word would get to Peoples Temple," said Holsinger.

"We called it a Pavlovian reaction," he said.

Did that odd circumstance indicate a possible leak inside the State Department itself before Ryan's journey to South America?

Said Holsinger, "I don't think I'd call it a leak. It could have been someone being pretty stupid. It could have been just incompetence. We figured that whoever was down there (in the U.S. embassy in Guyana) and viewing the reports, felt there was nothing wrong and that was part of the problem. We didn't know whether it was incompetence or what it was. But Leo was going down there to find out."

Holsinger's comments about the State Department's seeming lack of security involving information about Peoples Temple fit a general pattern which has come to light since the Nov. 18 deaths and the murders of Ryan and four other people at the Port Kaituma airport in Guyana.

Law enforcement officials in Los Angeles have revealed that Peoples Temple operatives in that city knew about the secret address of two cult defectors who have been cooperating with investigators there.

One deputy district attorney in Los Angeles expressed amazement at finding the confidential address at a real estate office linked to Peoples Temple. The address was found during a search of the office, a search which also turned up about 200 rounds of ammunition, bomb-making plans, and a dummy time-bomb.

"We were amazed to find that address there because we thought it was known only to law enforcement," said Lee Cogan.

Additionally, the FBI has expressed a desire to question Tim Carter, 30, the former Burlingame man who was one of Jones' key assistants in Guyana.

Carter has said he came back to the Bay Area last month to infiltrate those connected with Ryan's trip in an attempt to gain information about the planned fact-finding mission to Jonestown.

Carter, along with Michael Carter, 20, his brother, and Michael Prokes, 31, are being kept under house arrest in Georgetown.

Deborah Layton Blakey, sister of Larry Layton who has been charged in the deaths of Ryan and the others at Port Kaituma, has stated that government officials in Guyana had been compromised by Jones.

A temple defector, Mrs. Blakey has said she was part of a temple delegation which made daily visits to the Russian embassy in Georgetown to negotiate the transfer of the settlement to the Soviet Union.

She has said that U.S. officials at the American embassy in Georgetown were "extremely close" to Jones. She has said that one of them, Richard McCoy, had told her not to take her assertions of oppression and possible mass suicide to the press.

After the warning from McCoy, she has said, she got a letter that referred to her conversation with him which threatened her life if she took her complaints to the press. She has said the letter was apparently from Jones.

Holsinger said Ryan was aware that there were weapons inside Jonestown. "We knew there were armed guards around there," he said.

Holsinger said Ryan's office, which had been compiling information on Peoples Temple for more than a year before the congressman's trip, had turned over to the State Department copies of virtually everything which had been turned up in the investigation here.

That included information on Jones' suicide ritual, reports of gun-running and other matters.

"It was not the State Department warning Leo of any danger," said Holsinger. "It was Leo warning the State Department. Only they didn't listen. We sent them copies of our reports. We sent them what we had. We asked for further investigation. But they apparently preferred to support and confirm their own field reports from Guyana. If they had sent their own investigators from Washington, they would have found enough to have prevented this tragedy." State Department officials have said they did try to warn Ryan of the existence of weapons in Jonestown.

One problem that Ryan's office had, said Holsinger, was that it was difficult to determine what to believe about all of the dire allegations being made about Jones, Peoples Temple, Jonestown, etc. in the months before Ryan's trip.

"We were starting to believe that there was a great deal of merit to what these people were saying," said Holsinger, referring to many of the relatives of Peoples Temple members here in the Bay Area. "We weren't sure how much was emotional. We weren't sure how far it went."

Holsinger said he personally advised Ryan to be extremely wary of the Jonestown venture. "I advised him that if the reports turned out to be even half true, the possibility for physical intimidation existed. I thought they might try to provoke a fight. When it came down to the matter of guns, of taking no protection, Leo pointed out, and I think rightly so, that Mark Lane was claiming armed CIA invasion under the guise of some government agency to disrupt Jonestown. Leo said if we took any guns in there at all they'd use that to claim provocation and say we started it."

Although, said Holsinger, Ryan did not originally intend to take the media along with him, he was glad he did so as he prepared to leave for South America.

"Leo said they (the press) were the best protection he could have. They were better than guns. I found out late that the media felt kind of afraid but they felt that Leo was their best protection. We didn't understand the potential. We knew these people were possibly very psychotic or whatever. We were concerned. But Leo said you can't give in to fear. He said we've got to get the job done and no one else will do it."

In an interview with The Times, Holsinger addressed a range of other issues relating to Ryan's trip and Peoples Temple.

Here are the questions and Holsinger's responses:

When did your office receive its first inquiry about Peoples Temple from a concerned person?

It was in the spring of 1977. A request to meet with Leo came from Sam Houston of San Bruno. He was a wire service photographer. He told us his son, Robert, had been involved with Peoples Temple. According to his parents, he had planned to leave the temple. The next night, he was found dead. His two daughters had been taken to Guyana and the grandparents were worried.

When was the first time Ryan or someone in Ryan's office contacted the State Department about the Peoples Temple affair?

I'm not sure. There was a December 1977 letter to Secretary Vance on the (Tim) Stoen case. We probably first contacted the State Department in the summer of 1977. But I can't remember.

Did you or anyone else in the Ryan office contact the State Department either personally or on the phone? Or did you do it all by letter?

I talked personally with some people I don't want to identify. They said they were basing their opinions on the basis of reports from one or two field men. Richard McCoy was the principal one.

Are we correct in saying that the State Department did not mention danger per se in Jonestown?

No. What they said was . . . if any trouble erupted, they were not in a position to provide any protection (for Ryan and his party).

What about the concept of international circumstances resulting from Leo's trip? Did the State Department ever allude to, even vaguely, the possibility of unfavorable international consequences?

That seemed to be a general thread. It wasn't that so much as they said this was an independent country. They felt they were guests in that country and that they had no powers in that country. The roots of it (this attitude), in my opinion, were in the memories of the Chile disaster. Our administration had a general policy of avoiding direct intervention in Latin and South America. Nobody knew enough to make this (Jonestown) the exception.

Did you ever get the impression that the State Department did not want you to go down there?

Yes.

Can you elaborate on that?

For example, when Leo asked that someone from the State Department's legal aid office go with him, they said everyone was too busy. The general impression was that this was something they weren't anxious to see happen. They were satisfied that things were benign. They almost seemed to indicate that this was some kind of a trouble-making sort of thing. They didn't seem concerned at all about the people who were down there.

What could the State Department have gained by not giving Ryan or Ryan's office a full briefing on everything they may have known?

I think they did as far as they knew. They gave him a briefing but the State Department file seemed to indicate that there was nothing wrong.

Has it occurred to you that the State Department actually withheld information it had on Jonestown because of a fear that Ryan might take that information to the media?

We have no such indication.

If not, how can it be explained that the CIA reported the ambush accurately to embassy officials at Georgetown within an hour of the event at the Port Kaituma airport and that the State Department transferred John Burke from a highly sensitive post in Thailand to remote Guyana last December?

My reaction is that if there was a CIA report, then one of Guyana crew members may have been their source. That's possible. I just don't know otherwise. As far as Burke is concerned, I know nothing about his career. I can't answer that question. I don't know.

At Ryan family spokesman George Corey's press conference on Nov. 19, he said the first word you got that there might be a problem was a State Department phone call to you in which the caller said there was an unconfirmed CIA report (on the ambush).

That's not what I said. I had two calls. I had been calling the State Department all day because I was nervous. I called at 3 o'clock California time. Then I got a call at 4 o'clock on this unconfirmed report. Fifteen minutes later, I got a call from someone in the White House. Rather than four people dead, the caller

said five were dead and one of them was Leo Ryan. There were two separate calls. I do not recall having ever said anything about the CIA. That may have been an interpretation by someone else.

Was Ryan aware that even the act of leading people out of Jonestown, with or without journalists, could trigger a mass suicide?

No.

Was that discussed before the trip?

No. We had talked about that as sort of an act of faith, a tying together, a ritual he (Jones) went through for psychological effect. We never had any idea that it was more than a psychological trick.

Was Ryan or Ryan's office aware that Jones' health was apparently seriously impaired and that he was close to death?

We had heard those reports coming out. The concerned relatives told us it was a bunch of hogwash.

Did the State Department ever suggest postponing the trip to see if Jones would die a natural death?

No. They never suggested that. I don't think anyone was really believing it. There was so much showmanship going on that you couldn't separate fact from fancy.

Did you and Leo ever discuss the possibility of the entire settlement moving en masse to the Soviet Union or Cuba or some other communist country?

That was Mark Lane's comment. We knew of the threat. We laughed at it. Well, not so much laughed, we kind of scorned it. We knew what treatment they would get there, after all of Jones' talk of freedom and this type of thing. He wouldn't like the kind of freedom he would find in Cuba or the Soviet Union.

Did Ryan ever mention the possibility that there might be some foreign involvement in what was happening in Jonestown late this year, particularly with the appearance of Mark Lane so suddenly?

It was really (Charles) Garry who introduced Mark Lane to Jones. They were long-time friends, according to Garry. I guess they felt they needed a little public relations help to fend off this growing pressure that Leo was mounting.

When you received Mark Lane's letter of Nov. 6, did you and Leo ever discuss it?

Oh, yes. We were together all the time. I was with him when he sat down and marked up Lane's letter and prepared his reply.

One of the last lines in Lane's letter bears on something we talked about earlier, about "further persecution of Peoples Temple might very well result in the creation of a most embarrassing situation for the U.S. government."

Leo knew it was a public relations battle. He said he didn't think even Jones would back that. He said he (Lane) was threatening something that he really didn't mean to threaten.

Do you believe that it could have been an embarrassing situation for the U.S. government?

I don't think it would have been. I think it would have been a bizarre incident. I don't think Russia was ready to take them. I have my doubts whether Russia would have let them in.

How about Cuba?

Don't know. I don't know if they had any contact with Cuba. They have enough problems in those countries without this. I really think this was a ploy to push away the pressure. But I'm not certain about that. It's my opinion.

Did you and Ryan ever discuss, particularly when you were talking about danger inside Jonestown, the possibility that the CIA may have had a person inside Jonestown?

We never discussed that. We were never thinking those terms at all.

Did the State Department ever raise that issue?

No. We hear so many spook stories we don't know what to believe.

Why do you think Ryan and his group were detained so long in Georgetown? They were trying to stall. The embassy was asleep, if nothing worse.

What do you know about the dialogue between Ambassador Burke and Ryan during the period in Georgetown?

From what I understand, the ambassador simply didn't believe any of this.

Did the ambassador ever try to discourage Leo from going to Jonestown?

In effect, he was not getting any cooperation. He was being stymied. The State Department was disinclined to move.

Did you get the impression that the ambassador was trying to discourage Ryan or anyone else from going to Jonestown?

I don't know about that. I know he was discouraging Leo's efforts.

EXHIBIT B

[From the San Mateo Times, Dec. 8, 1978]

UNCONCERNED ABOUT AMERICAN CITIZENS—McCLOSKEY SLAMS STATE DEPARTMENT

(By Rick Sullivan)

A congressional investigation of the Jonestown massacre is likely to show that the U.S. State Department was more concerned with promoting exportation of natural resources from Guyana than exposing injustices within Peoples Temple or protecting Americans visiting that country, Rep. Paul McCloskey told The Times Thursday.

The Republican congressman from Menlo Park who had worked with his slain colleague, Rep. Leo J. Ryan, for State Department intervention in the Jonestown commune, stated:

"I think an investigation will bring out that the Guyanese government had a relationship with (the Rev. Jim) Jones and that the U.S. Embassy (in Georgetown) knew about it, accepted it and didn't try to intrude.

"Based on my dealings with the State Department, I think it is apparent that the department was more concerned with getting along with the Guyanese . . . and promoting exports from that country than it was in protecting U.S. citizens."

The most important mineral resources in Guyana are bauxite and manganese. Gold and diamonds also are mined. Bauxite is the principal source of aluminum.

Joe Holsinger, Ryan's administrative aide, has told The Times the State Department implicitly discouraged the congressman's fact-finding mission to the Jonestown settlement.

"They (State Department officials) were satisfied that things were benign. They almost seemed to indicate that this (mission) was some kind of a trouble-making thing. They didn't seem concerned at all about the people down there," Holsinger has stated.

McCloskey said it is the "inherent mission" of all U.S. embassies, as representatives of the president, to place more emphasis on maintaining an amiable relationship with a host country and promoting exports than looking after the interests of citizens abroad.

He said it is his hope that the investigation will result in an order by the House International Relations Committee that embassies take a "stronger position" on the well-being of Americans.

The committee that has taken over Ryan's probe of Peoples Temple already has plunged into a far-reaching inquiry that is covering the past, present and future of the cult, including its members, its money and relations with U.S. and Guyanese officials.

The committee is chaired by Rep. Clement J. Zablocki, D-Wis.

McCloskey said he has been advised by members of the committee that the investigation is centering on several key areas:

Why the State Department did not take more vigorous action on the Jonestown commune.

The relationship between the U.S. Embassy in Guyana and the cult.

What the State Department knew or should have known about the violent conditions at Jonestown.

The inadequacy of the information the State Department gave Ryan before his visit.

Whether funds collected from church bank accounts scattered throughout the world should be used for reimbursement of federal expenses and those incurred by relatives of the more than 900 cultists who died Nov. 18 at the Jonestown camp.

The congressman revealed that he and Ryan had tried for more than a year to move the State Department from its steadfast position of noninterference in Guyanese affairs and that he became just as frustrated as his colleague.

He said that he, like Ryan, received a barrage of mail from Peoples Temple supporters critical of his efforts whenever he made inquiries of the State Department.

His efforts alone, he said "attracted" 700 letters, including 10 from residents of San Mateo County—two from Redwood City, one from San Mateo and seven from East Palo Alto.

Local residents who wrote McCloskey included Viola Kelly and Essie Roach of Redwood City, Margaret Ellzey of San Mateo; and Pauline Thornton, Mary Murphy, Mary Lendo, Bessie Lee Webster, Roxie Mae Jones, Dorothy Ellzey, Ida Dorsey, all of East Palo Alto.

McCloskey said that he plans to contact personally several of these letter writers next week to discuss, generally, past affairs of the church and specifically to determine if any of the cultists have received death threats.

The congressman said that he was drawn into the church controversy more than a year ago when temple defectors Tim and Grace Stoen had asked him for help in regaining the custody of their son who, they said, was being held by Jones in Guyana.

McCloskey disclosed that he wrote a letter to the State Department asking that it intervene in the matter, but was advised that Ryan also was looking into the case and, in fact, had planned a trip to Guyana in December of 1977.

That trip, according to McCloskey, was postponed because of pressing congressional affairs.

McCloskey said that he continued to press for State Department action on the Stoen case, but was advised firmly in March of this year by Assistant Secretary of State Douglas Bennett that the case was being litigated in Guyana and that the State Department could not interfere with the procedure down there.

"I like Congressman Ryan, kept insisting that the embassy (in Georgetown) had an obligation to look into the matter."

McCloskey said that Ryan had invited him to join the delegation to Jones-town, but he said he had to decline because arrangements already had been made for him to participate in a South African fact-finding mission.

"Clearly, as far as I was concerned, Jones had no right to hold the Stoen boy in Guyana and the State Department had an obligation to intervene on behalf of that child," said McCloskey.

"But it was clear that the government didn't want to ruffle the feathers in Guyana."

EXHIBIT C

[From the San Mateo Times, Dec. 14, 1979]

CIA AGENT WITNESSED JONESTOWN MASS SUICIDE

(By Rick Sullivan and Karen Petterson)

An agent of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency traveled to the Guyanese jungle colony of Jonestown immediately following the assassination of Rep. Leo J. Ryan and witnessed the murder/suicide ritual orchestrated by the maniacal Rev. Jim Jones, The Times has learned.

Government sources have confirmed that a CIA agent assigned to the U.S. embassy in the Guyanese capital arrived at the commune as Peoples Temple members collapsed and died of the lethal cyanide/soft drink concoction.

State Department officials acknowledge that a CIA agent was dispatched to Jonestown within minutes of the airstrip assault. However, they will not disclose how the agent got there, his specific assignment or his identity.

But The Times has learned that the FBI has a tape recording recovered from the agricultural commune that apparently places Richard Dwyer, deputy chief of the U.S. embassy, inside Jonestown while more than 900 Americans died.

As second in command at the embassy, Dwyer reportedly was the CIA agent in charge of all intelligence activities in Guyana.

Dwyer took charge of the San Mateo congressman's fact-finding party upon their arrival in Georgetown, briefed the party on Jonestown activities, arranged for planes to transport the group to and from the jungle colony, and escorted the group to the commune.

The deputy chief was at the Port Kaituma airstrip Nov. 18, 1979, when Peoples Temple assassins opened fire, killing Ryan, three newsmen and a temple defector. Dwyer was one of 10 persons injured in the attack. He was wounded slightly in the leg.

A source confides that Dwyer left those who had survived the ambush sometime after the shooting, went back to Jonestown and then returned to the group.

Millbrae investigator Joseph Mazor, who has been delving into Peoples Temple activities for three years, says the tape recording held by the FBI contains a statement about Dwyer by Jones during the suicides.

Mazor quotes Jones on the tape as shouting repeatedly over the din and confusion of the ghastly death ritual. "Get Dwyer out of here!"

Mazor is an expert in analyzing voices on tapes. He has served as a consultant in the field to various law enforcement agencies.

Mazor would not reveal under what conditions he listened to the tape.

FBI agents in San Francisco and George R. Berdes, staff consultant for the House Committee on Foreign Affairs and director of the investigation of the Ryan assassination, independently confirm that federal authorities have a tape on which Jones says, "Get Dwyer out of here."

Berdes, however, does acknowledge that much of the tape recording is inaudible and confusing, mixed with loud music and screaming in the background.

Although Berdes and FBI agents agree that the "Dwyer" Jones refers to is, indeed, the deputy embassy chief, they do not believe Dwyer was actually at the compound.

Dwyer, reached today by The Times at the U.S. embassy in Guyana, said he knew of the existence of the tape but denied that he returned to Jonestown after the airstrip ambush.

Jones was obviously mistaken he said, "I was shot, you know."

Dwyer said that he had made arrangements with Jones to stay overnight at the compound after Ryan's party was to have left Nov. 18 to await a plane the following day to take Peoples Temple defectors back to Georgetown.

"He (Jones) apparently thought that I was still there (at the compound) when he made his comment."

The deputy embassy chief said he spent the night with the survivors at the Port Kaituma airstrip and did not leave until around 5 p.m., Nov. 19, when the wounded were transported to the Guyanese capital.

In his two-inch thick investigative report presented to the 34-member Committee on Foreign Affairs last May, Berdes makes no reference to the portion of the tape on Dwyer. And he admits that his staff of investigators never questioned Dwyer about the Jones comment.

The FBI has not questioned Dwyer either. The deputy chief remains today at the embassy in Guyana, and government officials there refuse to allow FBI agents into the country.

Berdes says that at the time his investigators interviewed Dwyer, they were not aware of the existence of the tape. Later, when the tape was given to him, he says he listened to it and concluded that Jones was mistaken.

"We thought it (questioning Dwyer again) would be pointless," says Berdes. "I think what happened was that Jones mistook someone else for Dwyer (who had visited the commune several times before the massacre). He (Jones) was under extreme pressure... he only thought he saw Dwyer."

FBI agents proffered the same theory—that Jones was delirious and that Dwyer could not have been present at the camp.

Berdes argues that there is "credible evidence" that Dwyer stayed with the survivors after the airstrip shooting and spent the night with them.

But ambush survivors, including Ryan's aide Jackie Speier, are not convinced that Dwyer could not have somehow returned to Jonestown.

Miss Speier, who was wounded in the attack, said that Dwyer's leg injuries were not debilitating, that he was able to walk with little difficulty, and, in fact, left the group on several occasions.

Another survivor, who asked not to be named, recalls that Dwyer left "two or three times" after the airstrip shooting, saying he would attempt to make radio contact with the embassy.

"I would say," the survivor offers, "that Dwyer was gone more than he was there with us."

The survivor notes that there was a truck at Port Kaituma, but cannot remember if Dwyer used it. The Jonestown camp is approximately four miles from the airstrip.

Miss Speier also tells of several incidents which she claims raise questions about Dwyer and his role in Jonestown.

She explains that when embassy officials briefed the Ryan party on activities

at the colony, a slide show was presented and conducted by Dwyer. One slide, she recalls, shows a smiling Dwyer in Jonestown with his arm around Jim Jones and his wife, Marceline.

"It was like a family photo, and I remember thinking how strange it seemed that a professional U.S. embassy official should be acting this way."

The former Ryan aide also says she still is annoyed at the disappearance of tape recorders and tapes belonging to her and Ryan.

Miss Speier says that Ryan and she taped and took notes of interviews they conducted with temple members after they were allowed into the commune by Jones. The recorder, the tapes and the notes were placed in a briefcase, also containing \$1,000 in cash and other documents.

When Ryan and his party departed Jonestown for the airstrip, the congressman, Miss Speier recalls, gave the briefcase to Dwyer.

Miss Speier says that when the briefcase was later returned to her, the tapes the notes and the recorders were missing. The cash and other papers remained enclosed.

Dwyer counters Miss Speier's account, claiming Ryan never gave him the briefcase but that he picked it up off the airstrip after the ambush.

"I don't recall seeing any tapes in the case, but I think I remember seeing a small recorder—I'm not 100 percent sure."

"I suspect that someone got to the briefcase very quickly. The only time it was out of my sight is when I helped load the wounded on the plane," says Dwyer.

The deputy embassy chief said he gave the briefcase to Jim Schollaert, a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, when he returned to Georgetown.

FBI agents, Miss Speier says, questioned her twice when she returned to the United States.

"All they wanted to know about was the tape recorders and the tapes."

The Justice Department will not confirm if they have located the tapes or if they have custody of them.

State Department sources acknowledge that a CIA agent did travel to Jonestown immediately following the airstrip assault, but they emphatically deny that the agent was Dwyer.

Department sources instead say that an agent, whom they would not identify, was dispatched from inside the U.S. embassy in Georgetown to the jungle commune, but only after word was received from the airstrip that Ryan and others had been murdered.

That word came within minutes of the ambush, and sources claim it was one of the airplane pilots hired by embassy officials who radioed the information.

Statements linking U.S. Embassy officials with the Peoples Temple were made as early as May 1978, when a temple defector took her story to government officials.

Debbie Blakey, who deserted the temple commune, charged that embassy officials in Georgetown were "extremely close" to Jones. She said that the one embassy officer, Richard McCoy, who is currently assigned to the Guyana desk at the State Department, warned her not to take her assertions of oppression and possible mass suicide in Jonestown to the press.

A few days after that warning, she said, she received a letter, apparently from Jones, that referred to conversation with McCoy and threatened her life if she took complaints to the press.

Mrs. Blakey is the sister of cult member Larry Layton, the only person facing charges stemming from the airstrip massacre. Layton was recently ordered to stand trial in Guyana on murder and conspiracy charges.

Allegations of a close alliance between U.S. officials and temple members were also made by Mazor, who made several trips to the jungle outpost. His clients were local parents of temple members.

He also said he took warnings to the embassy on the activities inside Jonestown, specifically that there were weapons in the camp.

Mazor contends that Dwyer gave a copy of his (Mazor's) report to temple members during a cocktail party at the temple's Georgetown house.

"I know he did it because (temple member) Tim Carter called me from Georgetown and read me the report—my report to the consul general referring to the guns and a lot of other things," Mazor reports.

Carter, a top Jones aide, escaped from the jungle massacre scene and is now living in Idaho.

EXHIBIT D

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, D.O., June 16, 1978.

Mr. SHEWIN HARRIS,
Marlene Drive, Lafayette, Calif.

DEAR MR. HARRIS: On behalf of Secretary Vance, I want to thank you for your communication concerning the situation at the People's Agricultural Temple in Guyana.

As part of the traditional and internationally sanctioned protection services, officers of the American Embassy in Georgetown, Guyana, periodically visit the People's Agricultural Temple located at Jonestown, Guyana. These officers have been free to move about the grounds and speak privately to any individuals, including persons who were believed by their family and friends to be held there against their will. It is the opinion of these officers, reinforced by conversations with local officials who deal with the People's Temple, that it is improbable anyone is being held in bondage. In general, the people appear healthy, adequately fed and housed, and satisfied with their lives on what is a large farm. Many do hard, physical labor, but there is no evidence of persons being forced to work beyond their capacity or against their will.

Should you have a specific individual about whom you want information, please provide the name of the person and the person's date and place of birth to the Office of Special Consular Services, Department of State, Washington, D.C. 20520. During the next visit to the People's Temple by an officer of the American Embassy, that officer will attempt to speak privately with the individual in question, convey your concern, and report to you.

Sincerely,

HODDING CARTER III,

Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs and Department Spokesman.

HON. CYRUS VANCE,
Secretary of State, U.S. Government,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: You have recently received information and facts concerning the activities of a "Rev." Jim Jones in Guyana, South America.

My daughter, Raine is one of those trapped at his jungle encampment and is being subjected to a brutalizing program of mind control and repression designed to make her an active participant in his plans. I sincerely believe her life to be in danger—as well as the lives of the over 1000 Americans reportedly there.

Jones apparently espouses a program of marxism, atheism, hatred of the United States and destruction of family ties a plain depravity. He apparently has dropped all guise of being a religious organization and has emerged as a political entity in Guyana & ultimately the Carribean.

I am appealing to you as Secretary of State to instruct our Embassy officials in Guyana to bring pressure to bear on Prime Minister Forbes Burnham so that he will act to cause Jones to halt his human rights abuses directed against my daughter and others and further to send my daughter and others like her home.

I am further requesting co-operation from the State Department in seeing that mail we send our family members is delivered directly into their hands and that they are free to read and respond in complete privacy and safety. If the mail could be sent by diplomatic pouch and delivered and read in the privacy of the U.S. Embassy then relatives here might stand a chance of counteracting Jones's vicious mind control tactics.

The situation is all the more dangerous and delicate in that Jones in a letter to Congressmen and Senators on March 14, 1978 threatened that they were "devoted to a decision that it is better to die" than to suffer "bureaucratic hassles."

This ruthless man must be stopped. It is for this reason that I believe the key man in this sad drama to be Forbes Burnham. I have sent him a letter of appeal.

I am begging you to act at once in this matter, not only in our national interest but in the human rights interest and the interest of the heartbroken relatives who like myself find themselves unwilling pawns in this bizarre game Jones has initiated. My daughter Raine, must come home again safely.

Sincerely respectfully,

But in any event, I am sure you can hear testimony on that point if you are interested.

There are two other important things. This notion that the CIA is somehow going to protect us in these difficult times is the argument advanced for sacrificing individual rights, and for denying greater freedom of access to the Agency.

It just seems to me that when you analyze the setbacks that we have suffered internationally in the last few years, that it has not really been the KGB that has been responsible. We have gone far beyond that. It was Soviet tanks and regular military divisions that won the war in Angola, in Ethiopia and, of course, in Afghanistan. I cannot imagine a CIA officer being particularly effective against invading Soviet troops.

President Carter has admitted that even our regular military would be ineffective in the Middle East without resorting to nuclear weapons. If the military cannot salvage the situation, it seems to me that we have gone beyond the point where the clandestine services, through the use of a covert operation, are going to be particularly effective.

The point is we have to be very sure of what we are going to get in return for unleashing this Agency. Are they going to be effective if we do this? Mr. Snapp's book was an embarrassment to the CIA because it revealed the CIA's sacrifice of its Vietnamese agents. I am sure that affected the CIA image internationally. But when you are incompetent, and you make a mistake, that does affect your credibility internationally; and your ability to get cooperation from people that might be hurt if you reveal secrets. Snapp's crime was to criticize his superiors' competence.

In the last week it has been brought to my attention that a fellow who was instrumental in this Jonestown affair was involved in recruiting mercenaries in Angola. I am trying to find out if he was involved in the same recruitment operation that was conducted in this country. But unfortunately this information is extremely difficult to get.

I did get ahold of the testimony of Mr. Joseph Holsinger, who was Congressman Ryan's administrative assistant, and he makes some very serious allegations. He seems to feel that the Agency might have been involved in the murder of Ryan. I just do not know whether this was true or not, but it seems to me that this is an extremely serious charge. It shocked me. There was also the connection with my particular case.

It is apparent that Holsinger has made a very persuasive case that the State Department and the CIA knew that American citizens were suffering and being abused in Guyana, and yet they lied to the families when they made inquiries. I do not know why. He suggests the reason they did that was to protect some type of covert operation that was ongoing.

But in any event, if there is any possibility that the Agency was involved in something like this in any way, it ought to be investigated thoroughly. I believe the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House has sent a letter to the Intelligence Committee over there, asking them to investigate this matter. I just thought I would call that to your attention at this time.

APPENDIX IX

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF., April 20, 1980.

HON. BIRCH BAYH,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR BAYH: Please include the enclosed statement in the record on the proposed National Intelligence Bill. Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

BILL EISEN.

PARK PRESIDIO NEIGHBORHOOD ASSOCIATION,
San Francisco, Calif., April 20, 1980.

Re S. 2284—Proposed National Intelligence bill.

MEMBERS OF THE SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATORS: On behalf of the members of the Park Presidio Neighborhood Association in San Francisco, I wish to express our very deep and grave concern with certain provisions of S. 2284, the proposed national intelligence bill.

Our primary concern is that Sections 213, 214, 221, 222 and 223 apply a non-criminal, non-judicial standard for the gathering of foreign intelligence and counterintelligence activities directed at U.S. persons. The courts have consistently held such non-criminal standards to be unconstitutional. Moreover, the need for a non-criminal standard was considered by your committee during the course of the hearings on the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act. After considerable deliberation, the act was amended to include only a criminal standard. In fact, the administration could not provide one bonafide example of why a non-criminal standard should be adopted.

Historically, the Executive Branch, under the guise of national security, has directed countless investigations and covert activities against U.S. persons (Exhibit A). According to William Sullivan, former assistant director of the FBI, many of these investigations have been strictly political (Exhibit B). Certainly, the Watergate hearings uncovered a prime example of such politically motivated activities. Were it not for the "criminal standard" applicable to covert activities, the Watergate break-in and the subsequent cover-up would have been perfectly legal.

As it currently stands, very few, if any, members of the intelligence community can be prosecuted for illegal covert activities. As Lawrence Houston, former General Counsel to the CIA, so aptly states:

"... in many cases it would be readily apparent that prosecution would be impossible without revealing highly classified matters to public scrutiny.

"The law is well settled that a criminal prosecution cannot proceed in camera or on production of only part of the information. The Government must be willing to expose its entire information if it desires to prosecute." (Exhibit C)

Thus, the only practical remedy available to a U.S. person who has been illegally victimized by a covert action is a civil action against the agency involved. However, such civil actions are made extremely difficult, if not impossible, by the agency's predicted resistance to providing any sort of meaningful discovery.

In essence, a non-criminal, non-judicial standard applied to surveillance and covert activities directed at U.S. persons would effectively give the Executive Branch "carte-blanc" to do whatever it wants and would seriously weaken the protections afforded U.S. persons under the Fourth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. For these reasons, we strongly oppose the provisions of S. 2284 applicable to U.S. persons. In addition, we oppose any weakening of the Freedom of Information Act as it applies to intelligence agencies (Exhibit D). I know of no instance where a request for information, honored under the Freedom of Information Act, has compromised national security. On the other hand, what little

information that has been released under the F.O.I.A. has given our citizens a valuable insight into the workings of government and has enabled many citizens to provide constructive criticism.

Although much of S. 2284 is simply a restatement and refinement of existing legislation and executive orders, we would like to commend the authors of S. 2284 for inclusion of Sections 131, 132 and 133 in the bill. I am quite sure that the vast majority of Americans, including members of the clergy, educational community and media (Exhibit E) support these provisions (which effectively preclude assassination, restrict the use of cover and restrict the intelligence community from influencing public opinion within the U.S. in a clandestine fashion).

Non-profit religious, educational and cultural organizations have historically enjoyed a certain degree of freedom from governmental intrusions. But, when such intrusions occur the result can be especially tragic. A case in point, in which I have some degree of familiarity, is that of the Peoples Temple and the tragedy that occurred at Jonestown (Exhibit E). I do not profess to know the exact nature of the CIA's involvement in this episode, but what I do know is that (1) the CIA or intelligence component of the FBI had been monitoring the Peoples Temple since at least 1960 (see pg. 566 of the House Staff Investigative Report of the Assassination of Representative Leo Ryan), (2) the CIA had developed close ties with the State Department in Georgetown, Guyana and with Guyanese Prime Minister Forbes Burnham, (3) the CIA and State Department kept fully informed about the situation in Jonestown and what might happen, and (4) the CIA and State Department could have prevented the tragedy but didn't.

Furthermore, the State Department, knowing full well that the Jonestown residents were living under a condition of involuntary servitude (illegal under both Guyanese law and U.S. law—see 18 USC 1584; *U.S. v. Bibba*, 564 F.2d 1165 (1977)), refused to perform its legal duty to help the Jonestown residents by informing the authorities and attempting to enforce the Consular Convention between the U.S. and Guyana which, among other things, requires that U.S. nationals living in Guyana be permitted to communicate with consular officers at all times (see pg. 227 of the House Staff Investigative Report).

When Congressman Ryan learned of the appalling situation in Jonestown, he inquired of but received no help or information (that he didn't already know) from the State Department, FBI and CIA. According to a retired high ranking intelligence official, the intelligence community was "reluctant to supply information on Rev. Jim Jones and his Guyana commune which was available in various intelligence agencies long before the murder . . ." (see the Feb. 26, 1979 issue of the Congressional Record—H845).

In as much as the intelligence community was required to supply the information to Congressman Ryan in accordance with the Ryan Amendment (22 USC 2422—legislation that Congressman Ryan, as a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee, had authored), it seems inexcusable that the information was not provided. Rep. Ryan knew about the guns that had been shipped to Jonestown, but what he may not have known was that Jim Jones' cadre of lieutenants were parolees who had been involved in over a dozen Temple related murders (Exhibit F) that were hushed up by the authorities. Jim Jones presented a significant political liability both to the Carter administration and to San Francisco public officials, and no one seemed anxious to have this politically embarrassing information surface in a trial. Thus, an understanding was reached with Jones that all official investigations would cease as long as Jones remained in Guyana. Unfortunately, this "understanding" enabled Jones to effectively strip most of his followers of their civil rights.

It is hard for me to believe some of the things attributed to Admiral Stansfield Turner and the Carter administration pertaining to the intelligence community's need to infiltrate religious organizations, educational institutions and the media, their need for a clandestine government public information system and their need to undertake covert actions against Americans who are not suspected of any crime. Is this America 1980 or is this Germany 1936? Whether or not the intelligence community becomes a law unto themselves may very well depend on the outcome of S. 2284. Please include this letter and the accompanying exhibits in the record. Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

BILL EISEN,
President.

can Scientists, the American Historical Association and the organization of American Historians.

The CIA and its friends, however, want to eviscerate the act because of what they concede are the incorrect perceptions of their foreign accomplices. As Carlucci quaintly put it, "It is unimportant whether they are right or not . . . In our business, perception is reality."

Perhaps the last word should go to Rep. Richardson Preyer, D-N.C., chairman of the subcommittee that heard Carlucci's testimony. "Even as we recognize this problem of perception," Preyer stated, "we must remain aware of another potential problem of perception."

"The ideas of an informed citizenry and public accountability of public institutions have been alive in our national consciousness since before we adopted our Constitution two centuries ago," Preyer concluded. "The Freedom of Information Act is simply the latest link in a chain of law and tradition which attempts to preserve and protect those ideas."

EXHIBIT E

[From the San Francisco Examiner, Friday, Apr. 11, 1980, p. 12]

NATIONAL DIGEST

CIA INTERESTED IN JOURNALISTS

WASHINGTON.—The CIA approached three American journalists during the last three years to work in covert operations and plans to continue the practice where warranted by the nation's vital interests. CIA director Stansfield Turner told a group of newspaper editors yesterday that journalists, academics and members of religious orders were now fair game for CIA recruiters—but not without his specific authorization. He told a less-than-enthusiastic audience at the American Society of Newspaper Editors convention he failed to understand why the U.S. press labors "under the assumption that if you accept an assignment from me for your country, you have somehow lost your freedom."

[From the San Francisco Examiner, Friday, Apr. 4, 1980, p. 34]

QUESTIONS ABOUT CIA AND JONESTOWN DEATHS

WASHINGTON (UPI).—Persistent rumors of CIA involvement in the 1978 mass suicide in Jonestown, Guyana, should be explored further, the staff of a House subcommittee says.

The House Foreign Affairs subcommittee on international operations found nothing new about the November, 1978, Peoples Temple tragedy during hearings earlier this year, and its staff said allegations of CIA involvement "are largely speculative and unsubstantiated."

However, the staff told the chairman, Rep. Clement Zablocki, D-Wis., that the House Intelligence Committee should examine the allegations again.

Rep. Leo Ryan, D-Calif., Examiner photographer Greg Robinson and other members of an American delegation were shot to death by members of the Temple, a San Francisco-based religious cult led by the Rev. Jim Jones. The congressman and others had gone to Guyana to investigate Jones' cult.

Shortly after Ryan was killed, more than 900 cult members committed suicide by drinking a cyanide-laced drink or were killed at the Jonestown colony.

In particular, the subcommittee staff said these points should be investigated: The contention that the CIA conducted a varied range of "activities" in Guyana.

The contention that the CIA made a conscious decision to allow the events of Nov. 18, 1978, to occur in order to avoid disclosure of CIA covert activities in Guyana.

The contention that this alleged reporting failure was conscious and calculated because Ryan was co-author of the Hughes-Ryan Act, which restricted some CIA activities.

The contention that the CIA was used "to promote and protect American commercial interests in Guyana."

Following are descriptions or references to the murders (some of which may actually have been accidents or suicides) of the following people: Maxine Harpe,

Emily Leonard, Arzie Hood, Leo Blair, Curtis Buckley, John Head, Truth Hart, Janie Brown, Bob Houston, Rory Hight, Chris Lewis, unidentified man in Philadelphia, Al Mills, Jeannie Mills, and Daphne Mills.

EXHIBIT F-1

[From "People's Temple—People's Tomb," by Phil Kearns. Logos International, January 1979, pp. 136-147, 87, 88, 186-189]

Pages 136-147

down his pants and expose himself in front of the whole congregation. This was a punishment. "And there have been murders," he said.

"You can prove that?" I asked, sitting up quickly.

"Yes," he promised.

"You realize," I said, "Jones has power. He can cover up almost anything. But if we can prove just one murder we can get this whole thing shut down!"

He shook his head vigorously. "It can be done!"

We only talked for a few minutes but I could see he was obviously frightened. He warned that we should set up a meeting for which he could obtain a better alibi, something reasonable which could let him get away long enough to tell what he knew.

I met him again the following month. His information was very sketchy but it was a beginning. He suggested that one of Ruth's old girl friends would know more. I planned to meet her the very next night but I was in for an unexpected occurrence.

My mother showed up instead. She was intensely angry!

"Mom, what's wrong?" I asked innocently. I was not sure if she had just stumbled onto me accidentally or someone had spotted me and alerted her.

"What are you doing here?" she snapped. "You're a traitor!"

"Mom," I pleaded.

"Look at this car!" She was shocked. I was driving a cheap little import but to her it was bourgeoisie and too materialistic. "What are you doing running around in this fancy sports car?"

"Mom, it's okay," I said. Then I grabbed her and held her. For only seconds there was a slight response. Then as if acting on a stage, she pulled away mechanically. She sneered at me, her beautiful face contorted in an ugly expression. She turned and walked off. I would never see my mother again.

My three years in the Bay area were the most frustrating of my life. The Jones family deteriorated rapidly. The violence and sex stories increased. Still, there was nothing to prove murder. I drove hundreds of miles, racking up thousands of dollars worth of phone calls. I didn't have much to show for all the time and money except rumors and the kind of evidence that works perfectly on a TV murder mystery but holds no water in a courtroom.

There were eight mysterious deaths related to the People's Temple. I had organized some information about them, and I was probing for every piece of first-hand information I could get.

1. *Maxine Harpe*. On March 28, 1970, she was found swinging from a noose. According to the coroner's report, she had stood on a trunk, tied a heavy cord around the rafters of her garage, wound the cord around her neck and jumped. A lot of people in the Jones family were suspicious of the so-called suicide. Now I learned we had not been the only ones. Carolyn Pickering, reporter for the Indianapolis Star, had been asking questions. The San Francisco Examiner ran an article. But the newspapers had come up with nothing substantial.

What I learned from friends was sickening. Maxine had begun dating Jim Randolph, one of Jim Jones's henchmen. Jones was jealous of their relationship. My friend overheard him say, "Maxine needs to have her attention focused on me, not Jim Randolph!" He wanted Maxine's total loyalty.

According to another friend, Jim Jones had told Randolph to "destroy the relationship." Maxine was tearful and upset. Jones, furious because she mourned her lover, had taunted her. "Why don't you just kill yourself? Get it over with!" This statement was also overheard by my second source. Another friend said Jones had sneered at her and told her that "at least Judas had the guts to kill himself."

Finally, in his bitterness and wrath, Jones had prophesied her suicide before a small gathering. Maxine herself was present. That was the week in which

I had seen her troubled and frightened. No wonder! Jones's prophecies, including automobile accidents, were always fulfilled. In fact, on one occasion he announced to the audience. "The prophet is responsible to make the prophecy come true."

The night of her death Maxine did a strange thing for one who was contemplating suicide. But it was a perfectly understandable thing for one who was fearing murder. Maxine had asked if she could take several children home with her. The house was full of children. Tom Ijames, James Moore, Danny Harpe, Kathy Harpe and another little sister. The oldest was ten. At 1:30 a.m. Tom Ijames wandered out into the garage and found Maxine hanging from the rafters. The little children then called the People's Temple. Maxine's children and babies watched as temple members removed a Jim Jones healing cloth from her body. The house was ransacked and anything which could identify the temple was removed.

There is a final bizarre note to this tragedy. Years later, after the 1978 mass suicides, I contacted a former member of the People's Temple council. She is now a Christian and was troubled by the fact that she had introduced Maxine to the cult. She had been present at a meeting shortly after Maxine's supposed suicide. It was a closed meeting, with approximately sixty in attendance. Jim Randolph was brought before the group whereupon Jones began to rant and rave at him. "You know you did it!" According to the eyewitness, Randolph did not break, even after Jones verbally worked him over.

2. *Emily Leonard*. She was an elderly white woman who lived in South San Francisco. She had turned her property over to the temple and then a storm began. Relatives convinced her she had made a mistake. Emily and her relatives secured legal help and planned to go to court. She died that same week.

Shortly thereafter, a Mr. Wade Medlock and his wife were confronted at the temple in Los Angeles. Jeannie Myrtle told me that they were asked to sign over their property to the church or die. Jones had allegedly said, "One person attempted to get her property back and I killed her."

3. *Azrie Hood*. She was an elderly woman who wrote Birdy Maribelle and Ross Case, two Ukiah friends who were not members of the temple. Azrie was a member of the People's Temple in Marshall, Texas, who wanted out. She warned that her telephone had been tapped. Birdy, Ross and Brenda Ganatos were planning to give her money to fly from the Shreveport, Louisiana, airport to San Francisco where they would pick her up.

The old woman declined the offer, and in a possibly fatal mistake, used her telephone to tell her friends she would not bother them for money. She would just wait for her Social Security check which was to come the first of the month. Azrie Hood disappeared within hours of that phone call. She has never been found.

4. *Leo Blair*. He owned a little grocery store in Redwood Valley. Allegedly, Jim Jones wanted it. Blair said, "No!" Suddenly, he found himself in a gigantic mess. Two young temple girls claimed he had molested them. There was a lot of hatred and venom coming forth from temple members. I remembered Leo. He had impressed me as being a kind man. I'm sure he was stunned by the organized harassment which suddenly descended on him. Jones never did get his property; but Blair didn't have it much longer either. He committed suicide.

5. *Curtis Buckley*. The story was that Buckley had overdosed. Three things about this bothered my friends. One, the fact, that Buckley wasn't known to have ever taken drugs. Two, he had been observed carrying a large amount of cash into the temple on the day he died. Three, the complaints of Janet Schuller, his stepmother. She declared his medical records had been tampered with. The Buckley case bothered me even more than the others, but it was the one with the least evidence to indicate foul play.

I was troubled by Buckley's friends who were very intense and seemed very convinced that he had been murdered. On paper that means nothing but hearing it from those who knew him was quite a different story.

6. *John Head*. On September 27, 1975, two People's Temple members visited John. He was escorted to a bank where he withdrew some money. He then turned it over to the temple. The next day Head told his mother he was going to live with the Jones people. On October 19, he reportedly committed suicide. Allegedly, he jumped from a building. Many family members felt he had been pushed.

The coroner's report was confusing. Mrs. Head, the boy's mother, was suspicious. Various pages reported different accounts of his death—that John had

jumped from a bridge, from a three-story warehouse, and another page indicated he had died at 212 North Vignes Street. The report stated that there were no scars on his body, but his mother wondered how they could miss a giant scar on his leg. This remained from a motorcycle accident and had required three hundred stitches.

Mrs. Head wanted an inquiry. The Los Angeles Coroner's Department refused.

7. Truth Hart. Truth was an elderly black lady, living at the Maribelle Rest Home. Truth had died in very mysterious circumstances. According to one eyewitness, it was murder.

Jones's very idealistic operation began quite generously in its ministry to the elderly. As Jones's own ego soared and his personality deteriorated, he began his exploitation of the older members. Those on Social Security or disability were required to turn checks over to the temple. In return, the cult began providing them with less and less.

Jean Foley was typical of those who would try to hold some of their checks back. Sometimes she would be locked in her room and her blankets would be taken away.

Not all the rest homes deteriorated to the level of a concentration camp. Birdy Maribelle ran a clean ship. She had been a member of People's Temple for some time but when some of the residents of her own home were exploited, she quit. She objected openly—a brave thing to do in the little city of Ukiah where most offices, including that of the sheriff, were thought to be controlled by the Jones people.

When a Mendocino County newspaper investigated the situation, Birdy talked openly to them. She reported that a Harvey Lawson was forcibly removed from her rest home. He was hauled out, tied up in a sheet, kicking and flailing at his kidnappers. "Jones wants us to bring him dead or alive," People's Temple members had told her.

The Truth Hart incident began in 1974. Hart started to speak out in the services of the temple and this irritated Jim Jones. There were reports that she had been complaining behind his back.

Numerous witnesses remember a public prophecy that had been given by Jim Jones. He was in his full acting character, his omnipotent posture, when impulsively he stated, "That woman will die soon!"

Shortly thereafter, the People's Temple organized a bus trip to the East Coast. Jones told Birdy Maribelle to pack her bags. Birdy wouldn't leave her responsibilities at the rest home. Jim arranged for the temple people to take over and then encouraged others to talk Birdy into the trip.

Birdy finally did leave and Mary Black took over. According to witnesses, Mary Black was also known as Mary Love, a former worker for Father Divine, the black preacher who claimed to be God.

The rumors began to pick up. According to "family legend," Truth Hart was pinched and tormented by Black. She was put in a bathtub, then pulled out. According to eyewitnesses, a pill was given to Hart. She was told to drink a glass of water. She then laid on her bed and died.

One of the witnesses was Janie Brown who said, "Look, she's already dead!" Another witness was Ella May Hoskins.

The coroner arrived and, according to Hoskins, without any examination, the doctor simply asked, "How did she die?"

Mary Black allegedly said, "Heart attack."

Birdy Maribelle began to suspect she had been lured away from Ukiah so they could get to Hart. While back East she made some remark of concern about Hart to Jim Jones. Jones said, "It's better this way, Birdy."

The two eyewitnesses in Ukiah were crusty old women who were not easily intimidated at first. They suspected murder. Janie Brown stood in a public meeting to declare, "I don't care what anybody says about Truth Hart; I know what really happened!"

Days after this public announcement—on January 29, 1975—Janie Brown also died. Her death was not reported to the coroner and the line on her death certificate contains no signature of the coroner's name.

Reverend Case, a local pastor, was troubled. He obtained testimonies from all involved and presented it to the police, the sheriff's department, and the district attorney. He got nowhere. The assistant district attorney was People's Temple member, Tom Stoen.

An intensified harassment of Case now began, including threats of death. Attempts to see the minister lose his job as a public school teacher failed. A

temple member went to the principal claiming to have had homosexual acts with Case and my own mother, Penney duPont, testified that she had personally witnessed it. In the Case situation, the man's personal integrity proved even greater than all the temple resources. He survived but his inquiry into the death of Truth Hart had failed.

There is one postscript to the Hart story. The other witness, Ella May Hoskins, is still living. After the mass suicides, Doug Wead, the co-author of this book, made contact with Ella May. The woman was frightened and unwilling to talk. A second attempt proved successful, however. Members of the rest home had seen the author on the PTL Club television program. Ella May opened up, confirming the whole story.

"Was this just a family legend that grew with time?" Wead asked. "Or were the residents of the home immediately suspicious of the death?"

Ella May Hoskins answered clearly, "We all believed it was murder—immediately!"

8. *Bob Houston*. The most famous of the temple's mysterious deaths had this intellectual and sensitive man as the victim. On orders from Jones he had divorced his wife and married one who was chosen for him. Jones ordered him to move into a slum apartment to take care of twenty-four children. He and his wife maintained fifty-hour work weeks, turning over 10,000 dollars a year to the temple. They were true humanitarians and socialists.

Bob's problem was his colorful intellect. He could not keep it under wraps and the threatened Jones retaliated. Houston was beaten for every minor infraction. These so-called disciplinary actions took place in front of the whole congregation with Houston's children looking on in terror. A larger man would beat on him until Jones would call a halt. His widow told the San Francisco Examiner that Jones laughed during one of these scenes.

Eventually, Joyce Shaw, his new wife, left the temple. Bob Houston suddenly became the literal whipping boy. Everybody jumped on him. The pressure increased. Ever the intellectual and philosopher, he thought there was some hidden reason or special kindness Jones was trying to communicate through these actions.

Meanwhile, Bob's parents longed to see their granddaughters. The visits were "controlled" and the elder Houstons were told that if they wanted to give Pat and Judy gifts they had to give similar gifts to all the other children in the commune. Bob loved his daughters but displayed no public favoritism and accepted his socialist duty when he was ordered to be separated from them.

As the brutal storm rose, Houston seemed to remain unaware of the strangeness of events. He knew he had special talents and took on two jobs to help the family. In the nights he served as a switchman in the Southern Pacific rail yards. One of my sources spoke of meeting him there. "Bob was a meticulous man. He always wore his gloves to keep his hands clean. He never took his gloves off while working. But when I approached him he took off a glove and reached out with a clean hand to shake."

On October 2, 1976, Bob Houston, brilliant, sensitive—yet blind to the anger his socialist purity caused—was found dead. His body was mangled on the tracks. His glove was found neatly on a coupler nearby. Everybody was asking the question. Had Bob been approached by someone before his death? Someone he recognized? Someone he naively greeted with a gloveless handshake?

Pat and Judy? Their grandparents longed for them. They were whisked to New York for a vacation. Actual destination? Guyana. Jones was establishing a model socialist commune in South America. The older Houstons had more tragedy before them.

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change your life," they would say.

Sometimes Lewis took me into San Francisco with him. His wife would get out, walk the streets and bring back money. Lewis was soon right back on drugs. One rainy night we sat in the car and talked while his wife hustled.

"Do you think Jones would blackmail someone?" I asked.

He looked at me hard. I told him the story of the little girl. Lewis laughed.

"Listen," he said. "I was a lot better off pimping and on drugs than being with Jones."

"But he got you out," I said. "Everybody thinks he got you out of jail."

He scowled. "Jones can get you out and Jones can get you in."

"What do you mean?" I asked.

"You just got to be a good soldier," he said. "You gotta do what you're told. That's what I mean. Jones has got San Francisco locked up. He can get what he wants."

"Do you think I could just leave?" I asked. "What could they do to me?"

Lewis just stared out at the rain. "I don't know," he said. "They couldn't do nothin' to you." Then he paused. "But I can't leave."

I didn't ask him why. I knew he wouldn't answer.

A few years later Jones would become furious with a young man named Rory Hight. Christopher Lewis would murder him with dozens of witnesses looking on. Jones's lawyers would go to work. Within a short time Lewis would be free, walking the streets again.

On December 10, 1977, Lewis was chased down a San Francisco street by two gunmen. To no avail, he banged on doors and windows for help. He was shot to death. Lewis was wrong. There was one way out of the family. Eventually, more than 900 people would take that same way out.

By working at the high school lunchroom I had started to build a little savings for my escape. Occasionally, on little excursions to town, I stopped by an army surplus store. I eyed a \$15.00 backpack. When I get \$30.00 I'll take off, I decided. That was enough for the backpack and a ticket for Santa Rosa with some change left over.

One night I bought the pack. I hid it in the bushes a short distance from Archie's house. Over a period of days, I shifted my valuables and necessities to my little cache. Then the time came for the break.

Archie's son was home. It was a special occasion. He was an airplane pilot and a hero at People's Temple. A hometown boy who made good. His presence changed the mood of the house. Mama Ijames was happy and proud. No one seemed to notice me come or go. It was a perfect time.

"Jim Jones will be one of the most renowned and well-know men in the world," Archie's son told me.

"You're sure?" I asked. The whole table scowled at me.

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loudspeaker system and order his people to the commune pavilion where he would deliver yet another diatribe against an infinite list of Jonestown's "enemies."

A second major event of 1977 was the defection of Tim Stoen. Tim was the former assistant district attorney of Mendocino County. He later became assistant district attorney of San Francisco. Throughout it all, he was a People's Temple legal advisor. Information sheets prepared by Tim Stoen, plucked from the jungles of Guyana at the very moment of the mass suicide, record visiting numerous banks in and out of the United States while conducting temple business. Needless to say he was close to Jones.

Tim left the cult after one of his trips to Jonestown and did not return. Suddenly he and his wife Grace began to openly charge that Jim Jones was holding their child in South America. Jones said the child was his. A San Francisco newspaper reported on what appeared to be an affidavit that was "floating around." It had been signed by Tim Stoen on February 6, 1972, and witnessed by Marceline M. Jones, the cult leader's wife. The affidavit stated that Stoen had entreated "my beloved pastor, Jim Warren Jones, to sir a child by my wife, Grace Lucy Stoen." In the affidavit Stoen explained that he wanted his child to be fathered by the "most compassionate, honest and courageous human being the world contains."

Stoen's lawyer told the newspapers that when Tim signed the affidavit he really was convinced that Jones was the father. Now he knew different. Jones lawyer Charles Garry said (and most family members agreed), "The child is the spitting image of Jim." The battle was on.

The third major event of the year was the murder of Christopher Lewis. He was my black friend, the one who had once told me that if I left the family they couldn't do anything to me—but he could no longer leave. He spoke of being a good soldier. Jones's money and pull had kept Lewis out of prison a long time. Lewis had been useful to the cult for a wide variety of odd jobs. He had hinted about these dark assignments when he had told me he was better off "pimping and being on drugs" than he was working for Jones.

Finally, Lewis was to be sentenced for one of his crimes. Timothy Stoen pre-

dicted Lewis was about to tell all and trade information about People's Temple for a lighter sentence.

On December 10, 1977, before Lewis had a chance to answer questions, before his sentencing, he was shot dead. Two men had chased him down a street in Hunters Point, California. Lewis had run onto the front porch at 1447 Palue, banging on the door for help. They would not let him in. His assailants had never been found. This was murder, not suicide, not a confused coroner's report. This was murder. The Jones controversy was simmering.

The People's Temple fought back. Jim Jones began to pull in his numerous IOU's. In spite of signed affidavits of eyewitnesses charging sexual abuse and beatings, in spite of the pleas of concerned relatives, San Francisco District Attorney Joe Freitas said he found "absolutely nothing" that would make him prosecute Jones.

A temple publication mentioned the Chris Lewis murder: "It was inferred that Chris was a hired bodyguard for Jim Jones. That is an outrageous lie! The temple has never hired anyone, and Chris never worked for us in this or any other capacity."

It went on to say, "It was inferred that Chris was a hired bodyguard, and Chris never worked for us in this or any other capacity."

It went on to say, "If the authors of the news article on Chris Lewis concluded that he was a part of us, then a lot of questions should be raised, because the night of his death, a threatening phone call came to the temple saying, 'There will be more. Tonight was the first.'"

"It was undoubtedly these lies that said he was a temple bodyguard that got him shot," the propaganda said. "We don't believe this was a gangland murder. We believe the conspirators were responsible. There are those who would sacrifice anyone if it served their purpose. We had to talk to some of his friends outside the church to keep them from taking revenge. This murder we will not forget."

This was typical Jones hype. Turn the accusations around. Jones attempted to convince San Francisco that the now growing body of People's Temple defectors were homicidal, jealous criminal elements he had given his life to help but who had now turned on him.

Propaganda hype was no longer enough. Birdy Maribelle, the nursing home manager who knew too much, found the windows of her home smashed in. Kathy Hunter, a former temple member who is now a reporter for a local newspaper, was pinned to the floor of her home by two black assailants who poured liquor down her throat, covered her clothes with whiskey, and then fled into the night. Jones-style terror tactics had begun. Former members who had heard Jones prophesy their deaths now shivered in fear.

In Jonestown, Guyana, gun battles were staged in the jungles and communities were told that the CIA had sent assassination squads to wipe them out but Jones's little army would protect them.

Suicide drills were stepped up. "Would you kill for me?" Jones often asked. In San Francisco the whole group was sometimes organized alphabetically to pledge their complete loyalty in death.

One day in Guyana, Jones filled a big vat with Kool-Aid and ordered all residents to take a cup and drink. The so-called "white night" had finally arrived. They were told to go out of the pavilion and

EXHIBIT F-2

[From "Six Years With God," by Jeannie Mills, A & W Publishers, Inc., May 1979, pp. 248, 15, 48, 266]

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1974

*Deep in my heart
I do believe,
I know,
I know you're God.*

—from a Peoples Temple song

Chris Lewis, a fierce Temple guard, got himself into trouble with the law—big trouble this time. When he had first joined the church, he brought an expensive drug habit with him. Through the positive reinforcement of the church

he had kicked this habit and dedicated his life to Jim and to the Cause. Although Chris tried to follow Jim's many rules, he had errant tendencies and so a significant part of his life was spent on the streets of San Francisco. Jim knew about this side of Chris's life but for some reason never confronted Chris or asked him to give the total life commitment the rest of us were expected to give.

But now, witnesses had seen Chris murdering someone in San Francisco. Jim had a long, serious discussion with the P.C. about the incident. "I have always allowed Chris certain latitude in his actions and in his living situation, because he had contacts that are very helpful in some areas of my work, areas that few of you are aware of. I cannot allow him to go to jail. We need to maintain his contacts. And, more important, I do not fully trust Chris. If he were left in jail it is very probable that he would tell everything he knows about our group. His testimony could be harmful to our welfare. It is imperative that we keep him out of jail at all costs."

"At all costs" came to \$36,000, Jim told us. Chris was released—free of all charges.

Now, however, Jim faced another problem and discussed it at

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through a bathroom window), on our porch, or in or on our mailbox.

Reacting to the threats, harassment, and fear our children were experiencing, Deanna Mertle (Jeannie Mills) sent a handwritten letter to Jim Jones apologizing for having asked for the money the church had taken when they made us turn our properties over to the church (amounting to many thousands of dollars). This letter did stop the constant surveillance we had been experiencing and, at that point, we were willing to do anything just to be left alone.

The Church operates a mission field in Jonestown, Guyana (near Georgetown). Members of the church who have gotten in legal difficulties or who are beginning to act hostile against the church are sent there to work. Once there, it is impossible to contact them or for them to contact anyone else, except through carefully censored letters by one of the church secretaries. . . .

Mysteries surround the deaths of some of the previous members of the church, such as Maxine Harp in Redwood Valley, who supposedly committed suicide after an altercation with church members. Emily Leonard, who was trying to recover some of the property the church had taken from her, died the day she was supposed to go to court against Jim Jones. Curtis Buckley, a minor child, while he was away from his parents, died without being taken to a doctor when he was sick. His guardians were told to place Jim Jones's picture on the child rather than find him medical help. Most recently, Robert Houston died under unusual circumstances two weeks ago, while working for Southern Pacific. He had been called "treasonous" by the church. His wife, Joyce, had left the church a few weeks before this time. One of the threatening letters to us, attached hereto, makes reference to the death of Maxine Harp. (See pages 23-24.)

These are some of the reasons that the more than fifty persons who have left the church in the past three years have not come forward to prosecute the church and try to recover the money they have lost. We fear for the lives and well-being of our families and ourselves. Pastor Jim Jones is a wise and shrewd man. He is making powerful political connections. He has aligned himself with the Muslims. He brags about Mafia connections through a doctor in San Francisco. He has aligned himself with Cecil Williams (a man he used to say he hated). He courts politicians, who fear him because all Peoples Temple members vote the way Jim Jones tells them to. He has members of his church work in school districts, police departments, legal offices, government positions, and any place he feels will increase his personal power.

To try to fight Jim Jones in court would be useless. Every person who is still in the church would be forced to swear to anything he asked, even going to their death to protect him. This letter is prepared

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P.C. members who had quit during the year: Grace Stoen, Joyce Shaw, and the entire Purifoy family. After all the depressing news in the papers, it was fantastic to hear that so many of Jim's good workers had found the courage to leave. We decided that we would have a party for all the "traitors," to celebrate our freedom.

A couple of days later, we saw an article in the paper that Bob Houston had been killed in an unusual railroad accident. This was dreadful news. Bob and I

had been good friends through his work with me at the church's Publications Office. He had been a talented photographer and dark-room technician. He had always been a skeptic. This got him into trouble with Jim much of the time, but it also helped many of us to hang on—just a bit—to reality.

Roz and Bob's ex-wife, Joyce, went to the funeral. After it was over, they came to visit us.

The accident had indeed been strange. Joyce had talked to Bob the very morning of his death, and he had expressed some doubts about his church commitment. When Joyce asked him to go to the church to pick up her clothes, he agreed.

Later that evening, when news of his death had leaked out, someone told us that Jim had announced: "Bob planned to quit the church today, but, fortunately, he was killed before he had the opportunity to see what it was like outside this group." The announcement caused most of us to question whether Bob's death was an accident or murder.

They also told a gruesome story about our friend Peter Wotherspoon. Jim, knowing Peter's weakness for small boys, had assigned Peter to be "big brother" to a group of young boys between nine and twelve years old, and Peter had been seen and reported doing something compromising to a little boy we knew and loved. Jim—in a rage—had commanded that Peter be beaten. While the boy, Searcy, was forced to watch, Peter was stripped naked and beaten with a board all over his body. His penis was banged until it drained blood. The nurse had to catheterize him, and a stream of blood and urine poured out. When the beating ended, all the P.C. members had to walk past Peter, one by one, to see his bruised and bleeding body.

The thought of Searcy having to witness this atrocity filled me with pain. No doubt he had been reaching out to find the love that he needed, and this was the result. And Peter, sweet gentle Peter. Jim was sadistic to put Peter in a position of authority over young boys. But we were as helpless to do anything about it now as we had been when we stood by and watched the children being tortured. Anger flooded my heart as I thought of the important

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there were several amazing healings. Local people would be called out for revelations and given warnings of impending doom. Before the meeting ended, Jim would go over to the "dead" person and, in a loud voice, command him to awaken. Sometimes the "dead" person would be so groggy he had to be "awakened" several times. A few even had to be helped off the stage.

Jim assured the congregation that he would minister to this person after the meeting, and that the person would return to the next day's meeting in good health. A few returned, but many did not.

During the last meeting in each city, Jim would invite everyone to join our group in Redwood Valley. At least one would come along.

As we got close to Philadelphia, the city Joey had come from a year before, he began to seem very upset. Finally he said, "Mommy, do I have to go to the meeting in Philadelphia?"

"Why, Joey," I asked him, "are you afraid?"

"Yes, I'm afraid my real mother might make me come back home with her. If she heard about our meeting, I'm sure she'll be there." I didn't want Joey to be taken from us, so I asked Tim to leave Joey and me at a nearby park while he drove the rest of the children to the service. Joey and I had a marvelous two days, swimming and camping together, while everyone else went to the services. His gratitude was deep and sincere. "My real mother never loved me like you do. I just couldn't go back to live with her," he said solemnly.

An unusual situation arose at the meeting in Philadelphia. A man came in armed with a gun and a knife. Somehow one of the security guards spotted him fingering something in his jacket and discovered that he had a holster strapped around his body, with a gun in it.

A couple of guards grabbed the man and took him to a side room where, Jim was later to tell us, they beat the man until he was unconscious. Unexpectedly the man died, and the guards were faced with the problem of disposing of the body.

One of the young guards later confided to me. "They took the body, wrapped it in a blanket, put it into a car, and then drove it to the edge of the city and dumped it there." Although Jim bragged for weeks about his guards beating this man until he lost consciousness, he never mentioned the fact that his body had been dumped into a river at the edge of Philadelphia. Later he showed us a newspaper

clipping that reported the recovery of a body from the river, and Jim claimed it was the same person.

After Philadelphia, we stopped in New York, Chicago, and Indianapolis. We arrived home still smiling. The trip was

EXHIBIT F-3

[Account of Jeannie Mills death from the Oakland Tribune, Wednesday, Feb. 27, 1980, p. 1]

DAUGHTER SHOT TWICE, STILL ALIVE

A Berkeley couple who had once been under police protection because of threats made after they defected from Peoples Temple were shot to death Tuesday night and her teen-age daughter was critically wounded.

Al Mills, 51, and his wife Jeannie, 40, were found a few feet apart in their nouse at 2733 Woolsey St. His body was in the couple's bedroom and his wife was in a bathroom.

Both apparently were kneeling in what appeared to be a position for execution. Each had a single shot in the top of the head.

The daughter, Daphene, 15, was nearby in the bedroom.

The daughter, who was shot twice in the right temple, was in "extremely critical" condition at Alta Bates Hospital and is not expected to live.

Al Mills' mother found the bodies when she came to visit the family shortly after 9 p.m., Berkeley police said.

The coroner said there was no sign of a struggle in the home. Both Jeannie and Al Mills were shot once in the head with a small caliber weapon. Jeannie Mills' son, Eddie, 18, was in another room, but he told police he was watching television and had not seen or heard anything.

He said he was in his own room in another part of the house. Sources close to the investigation said Eddie Mills was questioned extensively about the shooting, but he maintained that he did not hear any gunfire. They noted, however, that nearby neighbors said they heard nothing, either.

Al Mills' son, Steve, 23, came to the home after the shootings to talk with police.

A rifle was found on a dresser in the bedroom where Al Mills' body was found and a small handgun was on a stereo speaker nearby. Neither had been fired, and investigators said they appeared to have been there for defensive purposes.

There were no indications robbery was a motive. Officers said the house was not ransacked and apparently no valuables were missing.

Since leaving Peoples Temple, the Mills had established the Human Freedom Center to help defectors from various cults, and they asked for police protection after the Jonestown, Guyana mass murder-suicide because they feared they were being sought by "hit squads" they believed were organized to kill them.

A source close to the investigation said, "We have quite a few suspects, including those from Guyana who had the opportunity. We're looking at all of them. It's obvious we cannot rule out the Guyana 'hit squad' people.

The couple were one of the first group to break away from the cult and Jeannie Mills published a book last year entitled "Six Years With God—Life inside Jim Jones' Peoples Temple." A year ago, an older daughter, Diana Mills, told police that the cult's "strongarm men" had been terrorizing her father, brother and sister since they quit the temple. "We spent a long time after that trying to make somebody believe us," Diana Mills said when the family asked for police protection. "Now all those people are dead and they didn't have to die." The couple had been so afraid of reprisals from Jones that they changed their names from Elmer J. and Deanna M. Mertle to Al and Jeannie Mills. At one time, Jeannie Mills said the temple congregation had voted to cut off her ear.

Shortly after the Jonestown horror unfolded, word circulated that a "hit list" was being circulated by Guyana survivors. Terri Buford, once a top Temple administrator, claimed an assassination squad had been told "to kill as many people as they could until they were killed themselves or took their own lives."

But until Tuesday night, the only deaths of other temple members known was that of former newsman and Temple spokesman Mike Prokes, who shot himself in the head in a Modesto motel room shortly after releasing a rambling statement on Jonestown at a press conference.

San Francisco Attorney Charles R. Garry, who was in Guyana at the time

of the Jonestown tragedy, expressed shock when contacted at his home this morning.

"Some of the temple members I knew were non-committal about them (the Mills family)," Garry said. "I can't imagine why it would be connected with Jonestown. Jonestown is so far away now. It's been over a year now."

Garry said he had only met Jeannie Mills once, when he participated in a panel discussion with her in Berkeley. He said he had never represented her or her husband.

A steady stream of visitors came to the murder scene throughout the day. Chris Hatcher, a psychologist who has worked with the cult defectors, and Kevin Ford, a former San Francisco district attorney's investigator, were among those entering the Mills home.

Melissa Klein, 16, a friend of Daphene, said she had talked to Steve Mills and that he was handling the tragedy well. "He seemed really cool, but you could tell he was shook up like hell. He was white with shock," she said.

Two family friends, Ken Dagenais, 17, a Laney College student, and Michael Gavin, a Berkeley High School friend of Eddie Mills, said they were at the home about 5 p.m. Tuesday. They described the scene as very friendly. They said the family was sitting around a burning fireplace "in a good mood."

Both Al and Jeannie Mills had been previously married, and both brought children into the Peoples Temple. He had five children by a previous marriage to Zoe Mertle. Three of them, Steve, now 23, Linda, 21, and Diana, 20, were with them in the cult. Jeannie Mills brought Eddie and Daphene from her previous marriage.

Al Mills joined the Peoples Temple in November 1969, and the couple stayed until October 16, 1975, when they left because of what was going on there, Jeannie Mills recounted in her book.

EXHIBIT G

SUGGESTED LEGISLATION

Whoever having, or having had, access to intelligence information pertaining to any threat of death or serious bodily harm, or intelligence information pertaining to any danger of death or serious bodily harm, of any member of Congress, or any member of the family of a member of Congress, shall immediately warn said members of Congress, or his designated agent, of such threat or danger, provided that such warning has not already been effected, and shall, as soon as practicable, provide said member of Congress, or his designated agent, with all intelligence information available pertaining to the threat or danger.

Whoever intentionally fails to effect such warning or provide such intelligence information shall be punished by a fine of not more than \$50,000 or imprisonment by not more than 10 years, or both.

APPENDIX X

PARK PRESIDIO NEIGHBORHOOD ASSOCIATION,
San Francisco, Calif., April 26, 1980.

Re S. 2284—Proposed National Intelligence bill.

Hon. BIRCH BAYH,
Senate Select Committee on Intelligence,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR BAYH: Enclosed please find a supplement to my letter of April 20, 1980 pertaining to the proposed National Intelligence Bill. Please include my supplementary letter and accompanying exhibits into the record. However, if the exhibits are too lengthy to be so included, please note that the supplement contains a table of exhibits for both my letter of April 20, 1980 and the supplemental letter. Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

BILL EISEN,
President.

PARK PRESIDIO NEIGHBORHOOD ASSOCIATION,
San Francisco, Calif., April 26, 1980.

Re Supplement to my letter of April 20, 1980 pertaining to S. 2284—the National Intelligence bill.

MEMBERS OF THE SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATORS: As indicated in my letter of April 20, 1980, we are concerned with provisions of S. 2284 which would seriously weaken Fourth Amendment standards. Public concern with the potential for governmental abuse in this area has increased dramatically since Watergate. Consequently, the courts have been acting to *strengthen* Fourth Amendment standards (see Exhibits A and B attached herewith). State and local officials have also been acting to strengthen such standards. Recently, the Los Angeles Police Commission adopted stricter standards for the collection and retention of intelligence information (see Exhibit C attached herewith). Clearly, the trend has been to *strengthen* Fourth Amendment standards. Thus, the non-criminal standards provided by S. 2284 for federal intelligence work run contrary to trend and can not help but undermine all that has been accomplished by the courts, as well as state and local officials, to help safeguard our Fourth Amendment standards.

As also indicated in my letter of April 20, 1980, the reluctance of the intelligence community to provide information on the Peoples Temple may have cost the lives of hundreds of innocent people. I believe the intelligence community failed to act in this matter for the following reasons:

1. The State Department was well aware of the conditions in Jonestown if from nothing else than from the information it obtained from Jonestown escapees, such as Debbie Blakey, who sought passports in order to leave the country.

2. The State Department refused to help any of the Jonestown residents who were being deprived of their civil rights and, by virtue of their unlawful detention, were being denied, according to the treaty in force between Guyana and the United States (see Exhibits D and E attached herewith), "the right at all times to communicate with the appropriate consular officer and, unless subject to lawful detention, to visit him at his consulate."

3. Official information verifying the above would be tantamount to an admission by the administration that it was ignoring its treaty with Guyana as well as depriving Americans living abroad of their civil rights.

4. The intelligence community possessed information which could prove embarrassing to public officials and which could, if released, prompt publicity, such

as the New West August 1, 1977 and August 15, 1977 articles (see attached Exhibits F and G), which could very well prompt an investigation that would jeopardize the "understanding" with Jim Jones that there would be no investigations so long as Jones remained in Guyana.

The "official" position of the federal authorities, however, is one of noninvolvement. In a letter, dated April 19, 1979, to the House Foreign Affairs Committee (see attached Exhibit H), Assistant Attorney General Philip Heymann, responding for the FBI, states that the FBI had received only two pre-tragedy complaints—one from the office of Senator Hayakawa and one from a private citizen. This is simply amazing considering the volume of complaints that have been made public both before and after the tragedy. Many of the complainants said that they had contacted the FBI prior to the tragedy and, I presume, could testify to that effect. Also, a substantial number of the relatives and former members of the Peoples Temple with whom I spoke after the tragedy told me and others from the Park Presidio Neighborhood Association that they had contacted the FBI prior to the tragedy.

Perhaps if Mr. Heymann had checked the FBI's "soft" files (the ones that are not on computer) he would have found the complaints as well as the investigative information about the Peoples Temple murders and other crimes (see Exhibit F of my April 20, 1980 letter and Exhibits F and G attached herewith) which was furnished to a treasury agent by Al and Jeannie Mills (see attached Exhibit I). The treasury agent furnished the information not only to the FBI, Treasury Department and State Department, but to other federal, state and local agencies as well.

Undoubtedly, the San Francisco District Attorney's office was one of the "local" agencies that received the information. And since Mr. Tim Stoen, who was president of the Peoples Temple at the time, was employed as an Assistant District Attorney in San Francisco, the information was undoubtedly passed on to Jim Jones through Mr. Stoen. (Mr. Stoen was employed as a San Francisco Assistant District Attorney from May of 1966 to April of 1977 according to the December 18, 1978 issue of New West, pg. 51. Also, a major complaint of the former Temple members was that Stoen was using his office to harass them and to pass information on to Jones. Even the House Staff Report verified that confidential information furnished to the District Attorney's office was being "filtered back to the Peoples Temple"—see pg. 22 of the House Staff Report on the Assassination of Rep. Leo J. Ryan). Then is it any wonder that the treasury agents failed to locate illegal shipments of arms, drugs, currency or other illegal goods? And is it any wonder that they failed to catch anyone using phony passports? (See attached Exhibit I.) Or did the treasury agents really want to catch anyone?

Moreover, by thus furnishing Jim Jones with whatever the Millses knew about the murders and other Peoples Temple crimes the treasury agents thus set the Millses up for whoever might not want them around should the authorities decide to prosecute the Peoples Temple crimes. Perhaps the Millses knew or suspected who killed Bob Houston on the day that he announced that he was quitting the Temple (see Exhibit F-2, pg. 48). Jeannie Mills certainly provides a good description of a Peoples Temple meeting, presumably held in 1976 around the time Bob Houston was killed, in which Jim Jones threatened quitters with a gun (see attached Exhibit J—Although Jeannie doesn't actually say the meeting was held in 1976, she does say that Tim Stoen was then employed as an assistant district attorney in San Francisco which would place the meeting about October 4, 1976 which was the date Bob Houston was killed. The Millses did not attend meetings after 1976 since they had defected in that year.)

Then when Al and Jeannie Mills were murdered on February 26, 1980 (see Exhibit F-3 of my April 20, 1980 letter) the Berkeley police, according to the February 27, 1980 issue of the Berkeley Gazette, "notified the FBI and asked the agency for assistance in the investigation" presumably to learn the whereabouts and other information about the Peoples Temple suspects. However, the FBI has steadfastly refused to provide any information whatsoever about the Peoples Temple. According to the February 28, 1980 issue of the Berkeley Gazette, "the FBI has not entered the case. Agent Tom Anderson said that 'as far as we are concerned, it is strictly a Berkeley Police Department case.'" I also checked with the authorities, both right after the murders and about a month later, and each agency, including the Berkeley Police Department, Alameda County District Attorney's office, U.S. Attorney's office and FBI told me that the FBI had pro-

vided absolutely no information to the Berkeley Police or to anyone else for that matter.

Of course, should a murderer be apprehended and the crime proves to be part of some Peoples Temple crime, conspiracy or plot, then the FBI, by virtue of their involvement, would likely be asked to produce their files for an in camera court hearing to determine the relevancy of the information. If they refuse to produce their files, then they could face a problem similar to what a State Assistant Attorney General recently experienced here in San Francisco when he was cited for contempt of court for "misleading the court" in connection with a discovery request by the attorneys for Geronimo Platt, a member of the Black Panther Party.

Prior to 1976, Jim Jones managed to keep the lid on his operation by supporting politicians at election time and by threatening defectors with harm to themselves or to their friends and families still in the Peoples Temple. However, the pot began to boil in January of 1976 when San Francisco Chronicle reporter Julie Smith, who lived next door to Peoples Temple member Grace Stoen and just a few doors away from Al and Jeannie Mills, wanted to do a story critical of the Temple. "It was so distressing," she said, that so many people in "high places," including San Francisco District Attorney Joseph Freitas, managed to suppress her story (see New West, December 18, 1978, pg. 52). Then the lid really flew off the pot when Grace Stoen, wife of Peoples Temple president Tim Stoen, quit the Temple and filed for divorce and custody of her son.

By this time, however, certain people and political powers had decided that their relationship with Jim Jones and the Peoples Temple could not stand public scrutiny. Thus the Guyana "understanding" was formed to encourage Jim Jones to leave the country. Unfortunately, as indicated above and in my April 20, 1980 letter, this "understanding" enabled Jones to effectively strip most of his followers of their civil rights.

But what is most disturbing is the way the intelligence community is accommodating this whole scheme of things as if our constitution and laws did not apply to them. As the Guyanese have said many times, the Jonestown tragedy is strictly an American problem. Considering that the country of Guyana is not much larger in population than the city of San Francisco and considering the CIA-backed Guyanese government is decidedly prone to American influence, it is hardly possible that the conditions of involuntary servitude (anathema to the freedom conscious Guyanese) existed in Jonestown because Jim Jones suddenly managed to acquire some sort of overwhelming Guyanese political influence far in excess of any influence which might have been held by the United States government. The inescapable truth is that Jim Jones did what he did with the tacit consent of U.S. public officials despite the numerous protests of former members of the Peoples Temple, relatives of Temple members and even the intervention of a United States Congressman.

If the intelligence community wishes to argue that this whole Peoples Temple affair, including the murders, extortions, smuggling and other crime committed by the Temple, was necessary in the interest of our national security, I wish them good luck because I have not seen one shred of evidence to support such a contention. What I have seen is a wholesale "ducking" of issue.

For example, in a press release that was issued November 24, 1978, shortly after the Guyana tragedy, then Deputy Attorney General Benjamin Civiletti stated that the Justice Department "will do everything within its powers to investigate these (Peoples Temple) occurrences so that the perpetrators and participants, wherever located, can be brought to justice." (See "Guyana Massacre," by Charles Krause of the Washington Post, Berkeley Publishing Corp., Appendix C.) However, the only thing I have seen from the Justice Department since is a statement by Deputy Attorney General Philip Heymann in the August 25, 1979 local press which indicated that no indictments were forthcoming in California for conspiracy to murder Congressman Ryan, thus ignoring the kidnapping, smuggling, extortions, murders and other crimes committed by Jim Jones and his lieutenants (see attached Exhibit L).

However, Mr. Heymann's California grand jury investigation was handled by U.S. Attorney William Hunter, who, coincidentally, was a former employee of San Francisco District Attorney Joseph Freitas and who, through his employment in the District Attorney's office, had developed a close and well publicized friendship with Peoples Temple president Tim Stoen. (For further information on this subject, see my testimony, dated December 20, 1979, which was sub-

mitted to the Senate Judiciary Committee regarding the nomination of Judge Charles Renfrew as a Deputy Attorney General.) Naturally, Mr. Hunter was not about to indict anyone or investigate anything which could prove embarrassing to his friends.

Meanwhile, the cover up and more murders continue. I have no reason to doubt that if an investigation is not commenced soon the Mills family will not be the last to die. Of over 3,000 active members of the Peoples Temple, only a few more than 900 perished in Guyana. Most are decent, law-abiding citizens. But there are others who consider violence and terrorism a way of life and who apparently are attempting to fill the vacuum left by Jim Jones.

Congressman Ryan died trying to help Americans who had been deprived of their civil rights and Rep. Ryan's son has requested Congressional hearings on this whole affair (see attached Exhibit M). However, the only Congressional hearing that has been held so far on the matter has been a House Foreign Affairs inquiry to determine whether the State Department has implemented recommendations to prevent another Jonestown-type tragedy. Therefore, we fully agree with Congressman Ryan's son that more hearings are needed. In our opinion, the Departments of State, Justice, Treasury and CIA should be asked to fully explain their conduct, and witnesses should be subpoenaed to testify under oath. I see no other way of arriving at the truth. Let us hope that Congressman Ryan did not die in vain.

Aside from trying to help the Jonestown residents out of their unfortunate predicament, I believe that Congressman Ryan had another purpose for going to Jonestown. I believe that it was to use Jonestown as a case study to propose legislation to help our government to better protect the lives and property of of U.S. citizens living abroad (see attached Exhibit N). There is no question in my mind that the behavior of government officials, with respect to the Peoples Temple affair, has been inexcusable and should be made unlawful if not already so.

Perhaps, more than anything else, the Peoples Temple affair illustrates how little our government can care about the civil rights of its citizens. President Carter, in his inaugural address, stated, "We will not behave in foreign places so as to violate our rules and standards here at home, for we know that this trust which our nation earns is essential to our strength." But if the Peoples Temple affair is any indication as to how this policy has been implemented, I would have to call the implementation a dismal failure.

As illustrated by the above, our constitutional freedoms are difficult enough to enforce without trying to weaken our constitutional standards. However, by providing a non-criminal standard by which to conduct foreign intelligence and counterintelligence activities directed against U.S. persons, Sections 213, 214 and 221-223 of S. 2284 (the proposed National Intelligence Bill) would provide just such a weakening. There is no question that if a non-criminal standard is enacted, it will only pave the way for more Watergate, Peoples Temple and other tragic episodes in American history. Please include this letter and the accompanying exhibits in the record. Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

BILL EISEN,
President.

EXHIBIT A

[From the Los Angeles Times, Thursday, Apr. 24, 1980, pt. I, p. 22]

RESIDENTIAL IMMIGRATION RAIDS BANNED

U.S. JUDGE'S INJUNCTION IS SIMILAR TO 2 PREVIOUS ORDERS

(By Evan Maxwell)

A federal district judge has issued an order that effectively bans neighborhood immigration raids or "sweeps" of the type that have caused widespread anger in Latino neighborhoods.

The order, signed last week by District Judge David W. Williams restrains Immigration and Naturalization Service agents from making "warrantless intrusions" into the homes of suspected illegal aliens.

Terms of the preliminary injunction are similar to those of a temporary order that has forbidden such raids since last November. The same general restrictions were contained in an administrative order handed down late last year by Atty. Gen. Benjamin Civiletti.

EXHIBIT E

[From United States Treaties and Other International Agreements, U.S. Department of State, 1955, UST 3439]

UNITED KINGDOM—CONSULAR OFFICERS—JUNE 6, 1951

(d) nothing herein shall be construed to permit the entry into the territory of any article the importation of which is specifically prohibited by law.

PART V. PROTECTION OF NATIONALS**ARTICLE 15**

- (1) A consular officer shall be entitled within his district to
 - (a) interview, communicate with and advise any national of the sending state;
 - (b) inquire into any incidents which have occurred affecting the interests of any such national;
 - (c) assist any such national in proceeding before or in relations with the authorities of the territory, and, where necessary, arrange for legal assistance for him.
- (2) For the purposes of the protection of the nationals of the sending state and their property and interests, a consular officer shall be entitled to apply to and correspond with the appropriate authorities within his district and the appropriate departments of the central government of the territory. He shall not, however, be entitled to correspond with or to make diplomatic claims to the Department of State or the Foreign Office, as the case may be, except in the absence of any diplomatic representative of the sending state.
- (3) A national of the sending state shall have the right at all times to communicate with the appropriate consular officer and, unless subject to lawful detention, to visit him at his consulate.

ARTICLE 16

- (1) A consular officer shall be informed immediately by the appropriate authorities of the territory when any national of the sending state is confined in prison awaiting trial or is otherwise detained in custody within his district. A consular officer shall be permitted to visit without delay, to converse privately with and to arrange legal representation for, any national of the sending state who is so confined or detained. Any communication from such a national to the consular officer shall be forwarded without delay by the authorities of the territory.
- (2) Where a national of the sending state has been convicted and is serving a sentence of imprisonment, the consular officer in whose district the sentence is being served shall, upon notification to the appropriate authority, have the right to visit him in prison. Any such visit shall be conducted in accordance with prison regulations.

EXHIBIT F

[From New West, Aug. 1, 1977, pp. 30-38]

INSIDE PEOPLES TEMPLE

(By Marshall Kilduff and Phil Tracy)

For Rosalynn Carter, it was the last stop in an early September campaign tour that had taken her over half of California, a state where her husband Jimmy was weak. So Rosalynn gamely encouraged the crowd of 750 that had gathered for the grand opening of the San Francisco Democratic party headquarters in a seedy downtown storefront. She smiled bravely despite the heat.

Mrs. Carter finished her little pep talk to mild applause. Several other Democratic bigwigs got polite receptions, too. Only one speaker aroused the crowd: he

was the Reverend Jim Jones, the founding pastor of Peoples Temple, a small community church located in the city's Fillmore section. Jones spoke briefly and avoided endorsing Carter directly. But his words were met with what seemed like a wall-pounding outpour. A minute and a half later the cheers died down.

"It was embarrassing," said a rally organizer. "The wife of a guy who was going to the White House was shown up by somebody named Jones."

If Rosalynn Carter was surprised, she shouldn't have been. The crowd belonged to Jones. Some 600 or the 650 listeners were delivered in temple buses an hour and a half before the rally. The organizer, who had called Jones for help, remembered how gratified she'd felt when she first saw the Jones followers spilling off the buses. "You should have seen it—old ladies on crutches, whole families, little kids, blacks, whites. Made to order," said the organizer, who had correctly feared that without Jones Mrs. Carter might have faced a half-empty room.

"Then we noticed things like the bodyguards," she continued. "Jones had his own security force [with him], and the Secret Service guys were having fits," she said. "They wanted to know who all these blacks guys were, standing outside with their arms folded."

The next morning more than 100 letters arrived. "They were really all the same," she said. "'Thanks for the rally, and, say, that Jim Jones was so inspirational.' Look, we never get mail, so we notice one letter, but 100?" She added. "They had to be mailed before the rally to arrive the next day."

But what surprised that organizer was really not that special. She just got a look at some of the methods Jim Jones has used to make himself one of the most politically potent religious leaders in the history of the state.

Jim Jones counts among his friends several of California's well-known public officials. San Francisco mayor George Moscone has made several visits to Jones's San Francisco temple, on Geary Street, as have the city's district attorney Joe Freitas and sheriff Richard Hongisto. And Governor Jerry Brown has visited at least once. Also, Los Angeles mayor Tom Bradley has been a guest at Jones's Los Angeles temple. Lieutenant Governor Mervyn Dymally went so far as to visit Jones's 27,000-acre agricultural station in Guyana, South America, and he pronounced himself impressed. What's more, when Walter Mondale came campaigning for the vice-presidency in San Francisco last fall, Jim Jones was one of the few people invited aboard his chartered jet for a private visit. Last December Jones was appointed to head the city's Housing Authority Commission.

The source of Jones's political clout is not very difficult to divine. As one politically astute executive puts it: "He controls votes." And voters. During San Francisco's run-off election for mayor in December of 1975, some 150 temple members walked precincts to get out the vote for George Moscone, who won by a slim 4,000 votes. "They're well-dressed, polite and they're all registered to vote," said one Moscone campaign official.

Can you win office in San Francisco without Jones? In a tight race like the ones that George or Freitas or Hongisto had, forget it without Jones," said State Assemblyman Willie Brown, who describes himself as an admirer of Jones.

Jones, who has several adopted children of differing racial backgrounds, is more than a political force. He and his church are noted for social and medical programs, which are centered in his three-story structure on Geary Street. Temple members support and staff free diagnostic and outpatient clinic. A physical therapy facility, a drug program that claims to have rehabilitated some 300 addicts and a legal aid program for about 200 people a month. In addition the temple's free dining hall is said to feed more indigents than the city's venerable St. Anthony's dining room. And temple spokesmen say that these services to the needy are financed internally, without a cent of government or foundation money.

Jones and his temple are also applauded for their ardent support of a free press. Last September, Jones and his followers participated in a widely publicized demonstration in support of the four Fresno newsmen who went to jail rather than reveal their confidential news sources. The temple also contributed \$4,400 to twelve California newspapers—including the *San Francisco Chronicle*—for use "in the defense of a free press," and once gave \$4,000 to the defense of Los Angeles *Times* reporter Bill Farr, who also went to jail for refusing to name a news source.

In addition, at Jones's direction the temple makes regular contributions to several community groups, including the Telegraph Hill Neighborhood Center

and Health Clinic, the NAACP, the ACLU and the farmworkers' union. When a local pet clinic was in trouble, Peoples Temple provided the money needed to keep it open. The temple has also set up a fund for the widows of slain policemen, and the congregation runs an escort service for senior citizens.

To many, the Reverend Jim Jones is the epitome of a selfless Christian.

The reverend was born James Thurman Jones, and grew up in the Indiana town of Lynn. While attending Butler University in Indianapolis, where he received his degree in education, Jones opened his first temple (in downtown Indianapolis). Although he had no formal training as a minister and was not affiliated with any church, his temple grew. It featured an active social program, including a "free" restaurant for the down-and-out. And the congregation was integrated, a courageous commitment in the years before Martin Luther King became a national figure—particularly in Indianapolis, once the site of the Ku Klux Klan's national office.

Then at around Christmas of 1961, according to a former associate named Ross Case, Jones had a vision. He saw Indianapolis being consumed in a holocaust, presumably a nuclear explosion. Fortunately for him, *Esquire* had just run an article on the nine safest spots in the event of nuclear war, Eureka, California, was called the safest location; another safe area was Belo Horizonte, Brazil. Jones headed for Belo Horizonte, and Case went to Northern California.

Jones eventually returned and visited Case in Ukiah. Jones liked California, and twelve years ago this month, he and his wife, Marceline incorporated Peoples Temple in California: Jones and some 100 faithful settled in Redwood Valley, a hamlet outside Ukiah.

Jones's congregation grew, and he soon became a political force in Mendocino County. In off-year elections, where the total vote was around 2,500. Jones could control 300 to 400 ballots, or nearly 16 percent of the vote. "I could show anybody the tallies by precinct and pick out the Jones vote," says Al Barbero, county supervisor from Redwood Valley.

Then, in 1970, Jones started holding services in San Francisco: one year later he bought the Geary Street temple. And later the same year, he expanded to Los Angeles by taking over a synagogue on South Alvarado Street.

One success followed another, and his flock grew to an estimated 20,000. Jones's California mission seemed blessed.

Although Jones's name is well-known, especially among the politicians and the powerful, he remains surrounded by mystery. For example, his Peoples Temple has two sets of locked doors, guards patrolling the aisles during services and a policy of barring passersby from dropping by unannounced on Sunday mornings. His bimonthly newspaper, *Peoples Forum*, regularly exalts socialism, praises Huey Newton and Angela Davis and forecasts a government takeover by American Nazis. And though Jones is a white fundamentalist minister, his congregation is roughly 80 percent to 90 percent black.

How does Jones manage to appeal to so many kinds of people? Where does he get the money to operate his churches' programs, or maintain his fleet of buses, or support his agricultural outpost in Guyana? Why does he surround himself with bodyguards—as many as fifteen at a time? And above all, what is going on behind the locked and guarded doors of Peoples Temple?

TEN WHO QUIT THE TEMPLE SPEAK OUT

Beginning two months ago, when it became known that *New West* was researching an article on Peoples Temple, the magazine, its editors and advertisers were subjected to a bizarre letter-and-telephone campaign. At its height, our editorial offices in San Francisco and Los Angeles were each receiving as many as 50 phone calls and 70 letters a day. The great majority of the letters and calls came from temple members and supporters, as well as such prominent Californians as Lieutenant Governor Mervyn Dymally, Delancey Street founder John Maher, San Francisco businessman Cyril Magnin, and savings and loan executive Anthony Frank. The messages were much the same: We hear *New West* is going to attack Jim Jones in print; don't do that. He's a good man who does good works.

The flood of calls and letters attracted wide attention, which, in turn, prompted newsman Bill Barnes to report the campaign in the San Francisco Examiner. The Examiner also reported an unconfirmed break-in one week later at our San Francisco office.

After the Barnes article, we began getting phone calls from former temple members. At first, while insisting on anonymity, the callers volunteered "back-

ground" about Jim Jones's "cruelty" to congregation members, in addition to making several other specific charges.

We told the callers that we were not interested in such anonymous whispers. But then a number of them, like Deanna and Elmer Mertle, called back and agreed to meet in person, to be photographed, and to tell their attributed stories for publication.

Based on what these people told us, life inside Peoples Temple was a mixture of Spartan regimentation, fear and self-imposed humiliation. As they told it, the Sunday services to which dignitaries were invited were orchestrated events. Actually, members were expected to attend services two, three, even four nights a week—with some sessions lasting until daybreak. Those members of the temple's governing council, called the Planning Commission, were often compelled to stay up all night and submit regularly to "catharsis"—an encounter process in which friends, even mates, would criticize the person who was "on the floor." In the last two years, we were told, these often humiliating sessions had begun to include physical beatings with a large wooden paddle, and boxing matches in which the person on the floor was occasionally knocked out by opponents selected by Jones himself. Also, during regularly scheduled "family meetings," attended by up to 1,000 of the most devoted followers, as many as 100 people were lined up to be paddled for such seemingly minor infractions as not being attentive enough during Jones's sermons. Church leaders also instructed certain members to write letters incriminating themselves in illegal and immoral acts that never happened. In addition, temple members were encouraged to turn over their money and property to the church and live communally in temple buildings; those who didn't ran the risk of being chastised severely during the catharsis sessions.

In all, we interviewed more than a dozen former temple members. Obviously they all had biases. (Grace Stoen, for example, has sued her husband, a temple member, for custody of their five-year-old son John. The child is reportedly in Guyana.) So we checked the verifiable facts of their accounts—the property transfers, the nursing and foster home records, political campaign contributions and other matters of public record. The details of their stories checked out.

One question, in particular, troubled us: Why did some of them remain members long after they became disenchanted with Jones's methods and even fearful of him and his bodyguards? Their answers were the same—they feared reprisal, and that their stories would not be believed.

The people we interviewed are real; their names are real. They all agreed to be tape-recorded and photographed while telling their side of the Jim Jones story.

Elmer and Deanna Mertle of Berkeley

After Elmer and Deanna Mertle joined the temple in Ukiah in November, 1969, he quit his job as a chemical technician for Standard Oil Company, sold the family's house in Hayward and moved up to Redwood Valley. Eventually five of the Mertle's children by previous marriages joined them there.

"When we first went up [to Redwood Valley], Jim Jones was a very compassionate person," says Deanna. "He taught us to be compassionate to old people, to be tender to the children."

But slowly the loving atmosphere gave way to cruelty and physical punishments. Elmer said, "The first forms of punishment were mental, where they would get up and totally disgrace and humiliate the person in front of the whole congregation. . . . Jim would then come over and put his arms around the person and say, 'I realize that you went through a lot, but it was for the cause. Father loves you and you're a stronger person now. I can trust you more now that you've gone through this and accepted this discipline.'"

The physical punishment increased, too. Both the Mertles claim they received public spankings as early as 1972—but they were hit with a belt only "about three times." Eventually, they said, the belt was replaced by a paddle and then by a large board dubbed "the board of education," and the number of times adults and finally children were struck increased to 12, 25, 50 and even 100 times in a row. Temple nurses treated the injured.

At first, the Mertles rationalized the beatings. "The [punished] child or adult would always say, 'Thank you, Father,' and then Jim would point out the next week how much better they were. In our minds we rationalized . . . that Jim must be doing the right thing because these people were testifying that the beatings had caused their life to make a reversal in the right direction."

Then one night the Mertles' daughter Linda was called up for discipline because she had hugged and kissed a woman friend she hadn't seen in a long time. The woman was reputed to be a lesbian. The Mertles stood among the congregation of 600 or 700 while their daughter, who was then sixteen, was hit on the buttocks 75 times. "She was beaten so severely," said Elmer, "that the kids said her butt looked like hamburger."

Linda, who is now eighteen, confirms that she was beaten: "I couldn't sit down for at least a week and a half."

The Mertles stayed in the church for more than a year after that public beating. "We had nothing on the outside to get started in," says Elmer. "We had given [the church] all our money. We had given all of our property. We had given up our jobs."

Today the Mertles live in Berkeley. According to an affidavit they signed last October in the presence of attorney Harriet Thayer, they changed their names legally to Al and Jeanne Mills because, at the church's instruction, "we had signed blank sheets of paper, which could be used for any imaginable purpose, signed power of attorney papers, and written many unusual and incriminating statements [about themselves], all of which were untrue."

Birdie Marable of Ukiah

"I never really thought he was God, like he preached, but I thought he was a prophet," said Birdie Marable, a beautician who was first attracted to Jones in 1968 because her husband had a liver ailment. She had hoped Jones might be the healer to save him.

On one of the trips to services in Redwood Valley, Marable noticed Jones's aides taking some children aside and asking, "What color house did my friend have, things like that," she says. "Then during the services, Jim called [one woman] out and told her the answers that the children had given as though no one had told him."

She became skeptical of Jones after that, and remained skeptical when her husband's health did not improve: the cancer "cures" Jones was performing seemed phony to her. Yet eventually she moved to Ukiah and ran a rest home for temple members at Jim's suggestion.

One summer she was talked into taking a three-week temple "vacation" through the South and East. "Everybody paid \$200 to go on the trip, but I told them I wasn't able to do so," she added.

The temple buses were loaded up in San Francisco, and more members were packed aboard in Los Angeles. "It was terrible. It was overcrowded. There were people sitting on the floor, in the luggage rack, and sometimes people [were] underneath in the compartment where they put the bags," she said. "I saw some things that really put me wise to everything," she added. "I saw how they treated the old people." The bathrooms were frequently stopped up. For food, sometimes a cold can of beans was opened and passed around.

"I decided to leave the church when I got back. I said when I get through telling people about this trip, ain't nobody going to want to go no more. [But] as soon as we arrived back, Jim said . . . don't say nothing." She left the church in silence.

Wayne Pietila of Petaluma and Jim and Terri Cobb of San Francisco

Wayne Pietila and Jim Cobb guarded the cancers. "If anyone tried to touch them, we were supposed to eat the cancers or demolish the guy," said Cobb, who is six-feet, two-inches tall. Pietila was licensed by the Mendocino County Sheriff's Department to carry a concealed weapon; reportedly he was one of several Jones aides with such a permit.

It was during the Redwood Valley healing sessions in 1970, when nervous hope for relief from the pains of age spread among the congregation, that Cobb and Pietila would guard the cancers. Finally Jones would ask for someone who believed herself to be suffering from cancer. That was the signal for Cobb's sister, Terri, to slip into a side restroom and shoo out whoever might be there. Then Jones's wife Marceline and a trembling excited old woman would disappear into the stall for a moment. Marceline would emerge holding a foul-smelling scrap of something cupped in a napkin—a cancer "passed." Marceline and the old woman would return to the main room to screams, applause, a thunder of music. Jim Jones had healed again.

But one time, Terri got a chance to look into the "cancer bag." "It was full of napkins and small bits of meat, individually wrapped. They looked like chicken gizzards. I was shocked."

Wayne Pietila recalled another healing incident. On the eve of a trip to Seattle in 1970 or 1971, as Jones was leaving his house, a shot cracked out and he fell. "There was blood all around and people [were] screaming and crying, just hysterical." Jones was lifted to his feet and helped to his house. A few minutes later, Jones walked out of the house with a clean shirt on. "He said he'd healed himself," Pietila said. "He used [the incident] for his preaching during the whole Seattle trip."

Micki Touchette of San Francisco

The Touchette family followed Jones to California in 1970. They lived in Stockton for a while, then moved up to Redwood Valley, where they bought a house and converted it into a home for emotionally disturbed boys.

During 1972 and 1973 Micki and other temple members were expected to travel to Los Angeles services every other weekend. One of her jobs was to count the money after offerings. Micki, a junior-college graduate, had the combination to the temple's Los Angeles safe. She says, "It was very simple to take in \$15,000 in a weekend, and this was [four] years ago. [To encourage larger offerings, Jones would say, 'We folks, we've only collected \$500 or \$700,' and we would have in reality] several thousand."

In addition to attending Wednesday night family meetings and weekend services, Micki also was part of letter writing efforts directed by church officials. "We'd write various politicians throughout the state, throughout the country, in praise of something that they had done. I wrote Nixon, wrote Tunney. I remember writing the chief of the San Francisco Police Department," she said. Micki, who lived in temple houses apart from her parents, would often be handed a sheet listing the points she would have to include in the letter. "I would tell you how and what to say and you'd word it yourself." She says she also would regularly use aliases she made up.

When Micki left the church in 1975 along with seven other young people including Terri and Jim Cobb and Wayne Pietila, none warned their parents or other relatives. "We felt that our parents, our families . . . would just fight us and try to make us stay." Furthermore, they were all frightened. "At one point we had been told that any college student who was going to leave the church would be killed . . . not by Jones, but by some of his followers." Both Terri and Cobb recall the statement being made by Jones.

Walter Jones of San Francisco

When Walt Jones, who never believed in the church, followed his wife Carol to Redwood Valley in 1974, Jim Jones asked them to take over a home for emotionally disturbed boys. The home belonged to Charles and Joyce Touchette. Micki Touchette's parents. Walt says he was told that the Touchettes were in Guyana, and that the people who had replaced them, Rick and Carol Stahl had done such a poor job that "the care home, at that time, was under surveillance of the authorities because of the poor conditions. Some of the boys had scabies due to the filth."

In 1974 and early 1975, before Walt and his wife were granted a license to run the home, county checks (of approximately \$325 to \$350 per month for each child) for the upkeep of the boys were made out to the Touchettes and cashed by a church member who had their power of attorney. "The checks," said Walt, "were turned over to someone in charge of all the funds [for the church's care homes] at the time. [The temple] allotted us what they felt were sufficient funds for the home and supplied us with foodstuffs and various articles of clothing," Jones says the food was mostly canned staples, and the clothes were donations from other temple members. Walt is uncertain how much of the approximate total of \$2,000 a month of county funds earmarked for the upkeep of his boys actually ended up in his hands; his wife kept the books. But, he claimed, "it was very inadequate."

After the Joneses were granted their own license in 1975, the checks from the Alameda County Probation Department (which placed the boys in the home) were made out to him and his wife. "But still the church requested that we turn over what remained of the funds," says Walt Jones. "Approximately \$900

to \$1,000 [per month] were turned over to the church." And he added, "I do remember that there were times when all of the checks were signed over to the church."

Laura Cornelious of Oakland

Laura Cornelious was one of the privates in the Peoples Temple's army. She was in the temple about five years before leaving in 1975—just one of dozens of elderly black grandmothers who attended each meeting of the San Francisco Housing Authority Commission that Jim Jones chairs.

The first thing that bothered her was the constant requests for money. "After I was in some time," she says, "it was made known to us that we were supposed to pay 25 percent of our earnings [the usual sum, according to practically all the former members that we interviewed]." It was called "the commitment." For those who could not meet the commitment, she says, there were alternatives, like baking cakes to sell at Sunday services—or donating their jewelry. "He said that we didn't need the watches—my best watch," she recalls sadly. "He said we didn't need homes—give the homes, furs, all of the best things you own."

Some blacks gave out of fear—fear that they could end up in concentration camps. The money was needed, she was told, "to build up this other place [Guyana—the 'promised land'], so we would have someplace to go whenever they [the fascists in this country] were going to destroy us like they did the Jews. [Jones said that they would put [black people] in concentration camps, and that they would do us like the Jews . . . in the gas ovens."

Laura Cornelious was also bothered by the frisking of temple members (but never dignitaries) before each service. "You even were asked to raise up on your toes [to check] your shoes."

The final straw, she says, came the night Jones brought a snake into the services, "Viola . . . she was up in age, in her eighties, and she was so afraid of snakes and he held the snake close to her [chest] and she just sat there and screamed. And he still held it there."

Grace Stoen of San Francisco

Grace Stoen was a leader among the temple hierarchy, though she was never a true believer. Her husband Tim was the temple's top attorney, and one of its first prominent converts. Later, while still a church insider, he became an assistant D.A. of Mendocino County, and then an assistant D.A. under San Francisco D.A. Joe Freitas. Tim resigned to go to Jones's Guyana retreat in April of this year.

Grace agreed to join the temple when she married Tim in 1970, and gradually she acquired enormous authority. She was head counselor, and at the Wednesday night family meetings, she would pass to Jones the names of the members to be disciplined.

She was also the record keeper for seven temple businesses. She paid out from \$30,000 to \$50,000 per month for the auto and bus garage bills and also doled out the slim temple wages. And she was one of several church notaries. She kept a notary book, a kind of log of documents that she officially witnessed—pages of entries including power-of-attorney statements, deeds of trust, guardianship papers, and so on, signed by temple members and officials.

She recalled why Jones decided to aim for Los Angeles and San Francisco. "Jim would say, 'If we stay here in the valley, we're wasted. We could make it to the big time in San Francisco.'"

And expanding to Los Angeles, Jones told his aides, "was worth \$15,000 to \$25,000 a weekend."

During the expansion in 1972, members would pile into the buses at 5 p.m. on a Friday night in Redwood Valley, stop at the San Francisco temple for a meeting that might last until midnight and then drive through the night to arrive in Los Angeles Saturday in time for six-hour services. On Sunday, church would start at 11 a.m. and end at 5 p.m. Then, the Redwood Valley members would pile back on the buses for the long trip home; they would arrive by day-break Monday.

Some of the inner circle, like Grace Stoen, rode on Jim's own bus, number seven. "The last two seats and the whole back seat were taken out and a door put across it," she said. "Inside there was a refrigerator, a sink, a bed and a plate of steel in the back so nobody could even shoot Jim. The money was kept

back there in a compartment." According to attendance slips she collected, the other 43-seat buses sometimes held 70 to 80 riders.

Jones's goal in San Francisco, Grace said, was to become a political force. His first move was to ingratiate himself with fellow liberal and leftist figures—D.A. Freitas, Sheriff Hongisto, Police Chief Charles Gain, Dennis Banks, Angela Davis.

Sometimes Jones nearly tripped up. Once, said Grace, when Freitas and his wife dropped in unexpectedly, temple aides quickly pulled them into a side room and sent word to Jones in the upstairs meeting hall. Just in time. The pastor was wrapped up in one of his "silly little things," said Grace. "He was having everybody shout 'Shit! Shit! Shit!' to teach them not to be so hypocritical." When Freitas was shown in, everybody just laughed at the puzzled district attorney. (D. A. Freitas confirms making an unexpected visit to the temple, but does not recall anyone using the word *shit*.)

Jones became impatient at the pace of his success. Eventually Mayor Moscone placed Jones on the Housing Authority Commission, and then intervened to assure him the chairmanship.

Strangely, as Jones's successes mounted, so did the pressures inside his temple. "We were going to more and more meetings," said Stoen. "[And] if anyone was getting too much sleep—say, six hours a night—they were in trouble." On one occasion, she said, a man was vomited and urinated on.

In July of 1976, after a three-week temple bus trip, her morale was ebbing lower, her friends were muttering about her, and there were rumors that Jones was unhappy with a number of members. "I packed my things and left [without telling Tim]. I couldn't trust him. He'd tell Jim."

She drove to Lake Tahoe and spent the July Fourth weekend lying on a warm beach. She dug her toes in the sand, stretched her arms and tried to relax. "But every time I turned over, I looked around to see if any of the church members had tracked me down."

WHY JIM JONES SHOULD BE INVESTIGATED

It is literally impossible to guess how much money and property people gave Jim Jones in the twelve years since he moved his Peoples Temple to California. Some, like Laura Cornelius, gave small things like watches or rings. Others, like Walt Jones, sold their homes and gave the proceeds to the temple.

According to nearly all the former temple members that we have spoken with, extensive, continuous pressure was put on members to deed their homes to the temple. Many complied. A brief reading of the records on file at the Mendocino County recorder's office shows that some 30 pieces of property were transferred from individuals to the temple during the years 1968 to 1976. Nearly all these parcels were recorded as gifts.

Interestingly, several of the "gifts" were signed or recorded improperly. The deed to a piece of property signed by Grace and Timothy Stoen was notarized on June 20, 1976. Grace Stoen told New West that on that date, when she was supposed to be in Mendocino signing the deed before a temple notary, she and several hundred temple members were in New York City. Grace Stoen said she signed the deed under pressure from her husband, Tim, months before it was notarized. And similar irregularities appear on a deed the Mertles turned over to the temple. A thorough investigation of the circumstances surrounding the transfers of the properties is clearly required.

In the last few issues of Peoples Forum, the temple newspaper, there are several references to the claim that 130 disturbed or incorrigible youths were being sent to the temple's Guyana mission. A church spokesman confirmed that these youngsters were released to the temple by "federal courts, state courts, probation departments" and other agencies. An article in the July issue of the temple newspaper on the Guyana mission's youth program reports that, "In certain cases when a young person is testing the environment . . . physical discipline has produced the necessary change." The article goes on to describe a "wrestling match" that sounds all too similar to the "boxing matches" some former temple members described. If there is even the slightest chance of mistreatment of the 130 youths the temple claims to have under its guidance in Guyana, a complete investigation by both state and federal authorities would be required.

An investigation of the "care homes" run by the temple or temple members in Redwood Valley may also be in order. Both Walt Jones and Micki Touchette have stated that anywhere from \$800 to \$1,000 of the monthly funds provided by the state for the care of the six boys in the Touchette home were actually funneled to the temple. If those figures are accurate, as much as \$38,000 to \$48,000 may have been channeled into the church's coffers during the four years the Touchette home was open. It is known at at least two other "care homes" for boys were run by the church or its members. In addition, at least six residential homes licensed by Mendocino County were owned or operated by the temple. They housed from six to fourteen senior citizens each, and the county provided upwards of \$325 per month per individual. An investigation should be launched immediately to determine if any of the money paid for the care of the elderly actually went to the temple.

Files at the Mendocino County recorder's office show that the temple has sold off a number of its properties. The Redwood Valley temple itself is currently for sale for an estimated \$225,000. The Los Angeles temple is also for sale. The three Mendocino "care homes" that are still operating are up for sale. Several former temple members believe Jones and a few hundred of his closest followers may be planning to leave for Guyana no later than September of this year. The ex-members we interviewed had the ability to walk away from the temple once they found the courage to do it. Whether the church will permit those who move to Guyana the option of ever leaving is questionable.

Jones has been in Guyana for the last three weeks and was unavailable to us as this magazine article went to press. In a phone interview, two spokesmen for the temple, Mike Prokes and Gene Chaikin, denied all of the allegations made by the former temple members we interviewed. Specifically, they denied any harassment, coercion or physical abuse of temple members. They denied that the church attempted to force members to donate their property or homes. They also denied that Jones faked healings. They confirmed that the temple's churches and property in Redwood Valley and Los Angeles are for sale, but went on to deny that Jones's closest followers are planning to relocate in Guyana any time soon.

Finally, something must be said about the numerous public officials and political figures who openly courted and befriended Jim Jones. While it appears that none of the public officials from Governor Brown on down knew about the inner world of Peoples Temple, they have left the impression that they used Jones to deliver votes at election time and never asked any questions. They never asked about the bodyguards. Never asked about the church's locked doors. Never asked why Jones's followers were so obsessively protective of him. And apparently, some never asked because they didn't want to know.

The story of Jim Jones and his Peoples Temple is not over. In fact, it has only begun to be told. If there is any solace to be gained from the tale of exploitation and human foible told by the former temple members in these pages, it is that even such a power as Jim Jones cannot always contain his followers. Those who left had nowhere to go and every reason to fear pursuit. Yet they persevered. If Jones is ever to be stripped of his power, it will not be because of vendetta or persecution, but rather because of the courage of these people who stepped forward and spoke out.

EXHIBIT G

[From New West, Aug. 15, 1977, pp. 18, 19]

MORE ON PEOPLES TEMPLE: THE STRANGE SUICIDES

(By Phil Tracy)

Two weeks ago, New West reported the extraordinary activities of the Reverend Jim Jones, pastor of the Peoples Temple Christian Church, which is based in San Francisco with branches in Los Angeles and the Ukiah area. We portrayed Jones, who is chairman of San Francisco's Housing Authority Commission, as a charismatic leader with strong ties to the state's power elite. And we also described him as a religious huckster who relies on phony faith healings and fear tactics to keep his congregation in line and available to do

his bidding. Sometimes doing his bidding meant getting out the votes to elect politicians like San Francisco mayor George Moscone. And sometimes doing his bidding meant turning over all of one's property to the temple.

In the story, ten former members of the Peoples Temple told of being coerced to sign false confessions about unusual and incriminating acts so that Jones would have something with which to blackmail them if they ever decided to leave the church. They told of ritual beatings. They told of coercion designed to get them to sign over deeds to their property—30 pieces of property were conveyed in Mendocino County alone. When they left the church, many had neither jobs nor homes outside the temple.

They told of operating "care homes" for children and old people, while the bulk of the state's support funds ended up going directly to the church; the people who maintained such homes had to make do as best they could.

Some of the information came from the temple itself. The July issue of Peoples Forum, Jones's church newspaper, describes "a wrestling match" for disciplinary purposes that took place on the temple's 27,000-acre agricultural mission in Guyana where, it was claimed, 130 incorrigible youths have been remanded by "federal and state courts, probation departments," and other agencies. The discipline sounds like the beatings members described.

In the last two weeks, the following has taken place:

San Francisco Board of Supervisors president Quentin Kopp requested that Mayor Moscone conduct an investigation into the "very serious" allegations New West raised. Kopp said he felt "very uneasy" because he was chairman of the Supervisors' Rules Committee that approved the mayor's appointment of Jim Jones to head the housing authority.

Mayor Moscone issued a statement: "The mayor's office does not and will not conduct any investigation into the Reverend Jones or the Peoples Temple . . . [the allegations] carry with them no proof that any laws have been broken."

San Francisco district attorney Joseph Freitas instructed his chief special prosecutor Robert Graham to review the allegations made in the article and interview any former temple members who were willing to cooperate with his office. Those interviews are being conducted now.

Other media, both in the Bay Area and in Ukiah, have also interviewed former temple members not previously questioned by New West. For example, Jim Clancy of KTVU (Oakland) interviewed Linda Dunn, who had been Jim Jones's personal secretary for four years. She confirmed Jones's phony cancer cures, saying that the "cancers" were actually "chicken guts." She also described how she disguised her appearance, sat in a wheelchair and, when signaled by Jones during a healing service, got up and slowly began to walk like a newly healed cripple.

Clancy also interviewed Linda Mertle, who lived in the church for a year after her parents had quit. She described how temple officials asked her to break into her parents' house and steal cameras and other photographic equipment that the temple claimed it owned, along with photographs and other items.

Clancy also showed a film of temple members loading huge wooden containers onto flatbed trucks bound for the Guyana mission, lending credence to the suspicion that Jones is actively pulling out of San Francisco.

In the July 21 issue of the Mendocino Grapevine, Stu Chapman interviewed former temple member Sally Stapleton, who revealed that she was forced to turn over 25 percent of her earnings to the church and also saw Jones hit Tim Stoen on the head "because Stoen was not taking care of legal matters. Stoen [a former assistant D.A. under Freitas] was as humble as a lamb.

As this is written, Reverend Jones is still unavailable for comment. Spokesmen claim that an ear infection is preventing him from flying back from Guyana where he's been since June.

Since the publication of our story, over one dozen other ex-temple members have come forward to tell their stories. By far, the most serious questions raised relate to the deaths of certain people who had dealings with the temple.

The most recent case in point is that of John William Head, who died on October 19, 1975, at the age of 22. Head was never a member of the temple; neither was his mother, Ruth Head, who now lives in West Plains, Missouri. She told us that her son, as a teenager, received the proceeds of a \$10,000 insurance policy following a serious motorcycle accident. After he got the check, he bought \$10,000 worth of silver bullion from the Shamaz Trading Company in Ukiah, where the family then lived. Head then put the silver in a Ukiah bank.

As his mother recalls, on September 27, 1975, Harold Cordell and another temple member visited the boy at the Head's home. They then escorted him to the bank, where he withdrew his silver and turned it over to the temple. Head, who had emotional difficulties, often had long talks with his friend Tim Stoen; at one point the boy admitted himself to a Mendocino County hospital for mental treatment for two weeks.

The day after he gave up his silver, Head told his mother that he was going to live in one of the temple's homes in Los Angeles. Then on October 19, less than a month later, Head is reported to have committed suicide. His body was buried in Ukiah.

Two months later, Mrs. Head received a copy of the Los Angeles coroner's report on her son's death and discovered serious discrepancies. The place of death is listed on one page as 212 North Vignes Street, Los Angeles, a three-story warehouse between Temple and First streets. Although the first page of that report lists Head as "a jumper from three-story warehouse," there is a notation on another page that reads, "jumper from bridge." The nearest bridge crosses the Los Angeles River, which is two blocks east of the warehouse. In addition, the report claims the boy's body bore no scars or surgical wounds. Mrs. Head claims, however, that her son had 300 stitches in his right leg as a result of the motorcycle accident. "No one could miss that scar," she says. To complicate the mystery, one source reports that Head's body had no wounds and abrasions usually associated with a leap from a high structure.

Mrs. Head is not making any charges against anyone, but she wants an inquiry into the death, something she says the Los Angeles coroner's department refused to do back in 1976. "I'd like to know what happened."

Apparently the last person who spoke to Head in Ukiah is a family neighbor who requested anonymity. The neighbor claims that Head phoned her the night before his death: "To me, he sounded like he was very, very upset. . . . He said the situation was really bad. He said he was in a corner of the church, and nobody would bring him back [home], and he had no money."

While there appears to be no evidence of any connection between Head's death and the temple's control of its members, the unanswered questions involving the coroner's report and Head's phone call shortly before his death would appear to justify a formal inquiry.

And this is not the only report of a mysterious death of someone connected to the temple. Another strange death was reported by the San Francisco Examiner and the Indianapolis Star. The Star article by Carolyn Pickering, published September 24, 1972, describes the "suicide-death" of Maxine Harpe of Ukiah. The article reported that Reverend Richard Taylor of Oakland asked State Attorney General Evelle Younger to investigate Jones and his temple after Mrs. Harpe's death because "her [Mrs. Harpe's] sister informed me that unidentified persons from Peoples Temple had occupied her sister's house and ransacked it." According to the article, a relative of Mrs. Harpe said, "I know she gave them [the temple] a check for \$1,000 just a week before she died [by hanging herself seven years ago]. The money came from her share of proceeds from the sale of a house owned by my family."

New West spoke recently to the sister quoted by Pickering. The woman, Joanna Key, reported that one of Maxine Harpe's daughters recently turned eighteen and was sent a check for \$1,400 (Pickering quotes Key saying Stoen admitted the church had put the original \$1,000 in a trust fund. Presumably the \$1,400 represents this money plus interest). Still, Mrs. Key says she would welcome a full inquiry. She added that it took the family three days to locate and retrieve Maxine Harpe's children. Mrs. Key told New West that the children had been kept all that time in a "shack" with all their belongings piled up around them. She said the children had been taken from the dead mother's home by Temple members at the same time that they reportedly ransacked the house. The Pickering article quoted an unidentified California woman as explaining that the temple members went through the dead woman's belongings "to remove anything that would identify her with the temple." At the time, the attorney general's office looked into the matter, but did not discover anything unusual.

As we said two weeks ago, the story of Jim Jones and Peoples Temple is not over. But we are rapidly approaching the point when it becomes legitimate to ask how much longer will it take politicians like Mayor George Moscone to face the fact that Jim Jones was not the man they thought he was.

EXHIBIT H

[Letters to House Committee on Foreign Affairs from William H. Webster, Director of FBI, and Philip B. Heymann, Assistant Attorney General, from the Assassination of Rep. Leo J. Ryan and the Jonestown Tragedy, Staff Report of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, May 15, 1979, pp. 197-199]

D. April 12, 1979, interim response from the Department of Justice to the March 30, 1979, letter from Hon. Clement J. Zablocki

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION,
Washington, D.C., April 12, 1979.

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI,
Chairman, Committee on Foreign Affairs,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: I have received a copy of your letter of March 30, 1978, to Deputy Attorney General Benjamin R. Civiletti requesting information and materials concerning the death of Representative Leo J. Ryan and activities relating to the People's Temple.

A response to your request is being prepared and will consist of those materials and information agreed upon during a meeting of your staff with Mr. Robert L. Keuch, Deputy Assistant Attorney General, Department of Justice, members of Mr. Keuch's staff, and FBI representatives on March 29, 1979.

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM H. WEBSTER,
Director.

E. April 19, 1979, final response from the Department of Justice to the March 30, 1979, letter from Hon. Clement J. Zablocki

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,
Washington, April 19, 1979.

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI,
Chairman, Committee on Foreign Affairs,
House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: This is in response to your letter of March 30, 1979, requesting certain items of information and evidence in the possession of the Department of Justice, relating to the investigation of the assassination of Congressman Leo Ryan at Port Kaituma, Guyana, on November 18, 1978. As you know, this matter was discussed at a meeting on March 29, 1979, between staff members of the Committee and representatives of the Department.

The assassination of Congressman Ryan and related matters presently are being investigated by a Federal grand jury in the Northern District of California. Therefore, the secrecy provisions of Rule 6 of the Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure limit the extent of information and evidence that may be disclosed at this time. Upon completion of the grand jury investigation and any resulting criminal proceedings, the Department would be pleased to share with the Committee any information developed in the course of our investigation.

The transcript of the Jonestown "Death Tape" was furnished to Committee staff members on March 29, 1979. A copy of the actual tape is being prepared by the Federal Bureau of Investigation Laboratory and will be furnished in the near future.

With regard to pre-tragedy knowledge and investigation of the People's Temple by the Department of Justice, a search of our records developed the following information. In June 1978, the FBI received a communication from the office of Senator S. I. Hayakawa concerning an allegation by a constituent that Jim Jones was coaxing individuals into traveling to Georgetown, Guyana, where they were being held against their will for unknown reasons. The constituent was contacted by the FBI and during a personal interview it was determined that relatives of the constituent had traveled to Guyana voluntarily, and no evidence of forced confinement was developed. Because no violation of the Federal kidnapping statute had occurred, no further investigation was conducted. Additionally, the Criminal Division received a citizen complaint in December 1977, alleging that a relative was being held in bondage in Georgetown, Guyana by Pastor Jim Jones. Because

the facts set forth by the citizen indicated no criminal violation within our jurisdiction, the information was forwarded to the State Department.

With regard to the People's Temple Jonestown guest book, we prefer not to release a copy of the book at this time. However, the book may be viewed by representatives of the Committee at a mutually agreeable time by contacting Donald W. Moore, Jr., Assistant Director, Criminal Investigative Division, FBI Headquarters, telephone 324-4260.

Attached hereto is a copy of the NBC video tape film footage of the crime scene at Port Kaituma. Other portions of the NBC video tape cannot be disclosed at this time because they are not in the public domain and are among the items of evidence being considered by a Federal grand jury.

At the March 29, 1979 meeting, Committee staff members expressed interest in ascertaining the present locations of Odell Rhodes and Stanley Clayton. The last known address for Odell Rhodes is 1530 LaSalle Street, Apartment B5, Detroit, Michigan, telephone 313-345-3490. The last known address for Stanley Clayton is 920 39th Street, Oakland, California, no telephone number. An additional address for Clayton is c/o Patricia Clayton, 910 Rosemary Lane, Cummingsburg, Guyana. The remaining items in your request cannot be disclosed at this time because they concern matters under consideration by the grand jury.

I hope the foregoing information will be of some assistance.

Sincerely,

PHILIP B. HEYMANN,
Assistant Attorney General,
Criminal Division.

By: ROBERT L. KEUCH,
Deputy Assistant Attorney General
Criminal Division.

EXHIBIT I

[From "Six Years With God," by Jeannie Mills, A & W Publishers, Inc., May 1979, pp. 57, 63]

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One person listened. His name was Dave Conn. After he heard our story, he expressed genuine concern for our welfare. He told us that he would put us in contact with a friend who was an investigative reporter; a friend to whom we could tell our story and who could document the events we'd described. Dave felt that if something happened to any of us, at least there would be verification that we were really being threatened. We were deeply appreciative of his offer to try to help, and, since Dave was the very first person who had been willing to listen to the whole story, we decided to trust his judgment. A few days later he brought the reporter, George, over to our house. Grace Stoen was also visiting us that day, so together we told him as much as we could about the beatings, Jim's sadism, his politics, and the threats and fear we lived under. Dave took copious notes which he promised no one would ever see. George promised that he wouldn't use his notes either, unless we gave him our express permission or unless something were to happen to one of us and the information was needed to back up our testimony.

At last something positive was happening. At least we knew that if one of us were killed, maybe someone would suspect and investigate the Temple. Little did we know then how hard it was going to be over the next year and a half to persuade the public to believe the truth about Jim Jones.

George was truly concerned about our safety, and he introduced us to James, an agent from the Treasury Department of the United States government, with whom he had been working on another story. James swore us to absolute secrecy about the fact that we were working in cooperation with a government agency. I must admit that we were a little skeptical at first about talking to an "agent." I remembered the letter that I had sent to Ralph Nader, which had somehow made its way into the hands of Peoples Temple. We weren't at all sure that James wouldn't feed the information we gave him right back to Jim Jones, but he was our only hope, so we decided to trust him.

We told James the same bizarre stories we had told Dave a few days before. We also told him about the weapons we knew Jim was shipping to Jonestown, in the bottoms of crates marked "agriculture supplies." We explained how the counsellors wore money belts around their waists and under their clothes to

smuggle in illegal cash. We told him about the supplies we knew were going in there without proper customs papers and about the people who were using phony passports because they hadn't been able to produce a birth certificate. Jim had bragged about these things in church as he scoffed about his contempt for government.

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the *Bay Guardian*. Don't ever do anything like that again. If you ever do this again, we'll see you in court." Even Zoe was finding out that there was no place to turn for help in exposing the church and its fear tactics.

Jones, who was always paranoid, now went into a complete state of panic. Hundreds of letters written by his members and political supporters were sent to the *New West* headquarters in San Francisco, and hundreds more were sent to New York to the owner of the magazine. Phil Tracy was later to say at a news conference, "We seldom get one letter commenting on an article we are preparing, but when we got 300 letters, many from politicians and prominent people, we really knew we were on to something."

In the meantime, though, all we knew was that Dave Conn had told everything to Dennis Banks and that Jim Jones might have the entire conversation on tape.

Someone called to tell me that her sister was still in the church and said that Jones was going to return to San Francisco from a visit to Guyana. "He'll be at the meeting tomorrow night," she said. I thanked her for the information and promptly called James, the agent. He politely thanked me for the information.

Again, we drove past the church and saw two large flatbed trucks packed with crates headed for Guyana. I called James to report it, and once again he thanked me politely.

Next, I called to tell him that several counsellors were making a trip to Guyana, and once again he expressed thanks. Again and again I would be disappointed, because somehow government investigative agencies were unable to find the trucks or the church members who were coming and going, or to check the supplies that were constantly being shipped to Guyana. As time went on and nothing was happening, we again began to get discouraged. No one really believed us, not even the government—or else someone was smothering the investigations.

Then someone told me about a board of directors meeting for the Downtown Association in San Francisco (an association of top business leaders), at which the city supervisor, John Barbagelata, had spoken about voting fraud and about the power of the Peoples Temple church, and said that the businessmen at the meeting had been thoroughly shocked by the supervisor's allegations. I asked if I could get a copy of the comments that had been made, and after swearing me to secrecy about the source, the person sent me the minutes of the meeting. As I read what Barbagelata said and the remarks of the participants at the meeting, my hopes soared.

EXHIBIT J

[Letters to House Committee on Foreign Affairs from Robert Carswell, Acting Secretary of the Treasury and Richard J. Davis, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury from the Assassination of Rep. Leo J. Ryan and the Jonestown Tragedy, Staff Report of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, May 15, 1979, pp. 201-204]

G. January 5, 1979, letter from the Department of the Treasury to Hon. Clement J. Zablocki

THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY,
Washington, D.C.

Hon. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI,
Chairman, Committee on International Relations, House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: We share your sense of tragedy over the recent events in Guyana, and, in particular, over the untimely death of Congressman Ryan.

As you may know, various agencies within the Department of the Treasury are involved in inquiries related to the events in Jonestown. In order to facilitate whatever assistance we may be able to provide to your Committee, Assistant Secretary (Enforcement and Operations) Richard J. Davis will coordinate

responses to any requests your Committee may make. I have also asked him to coordinate with the Department of Justice in order to avoid interfering with any of the ongoing investigations of these events, while cooperating with your Committee to the extent possible.

Sincerely,

ROBERT CARSWELL,
Acting Secretary.

H. March 21, 1979, letter from the Department of the Treasury providing information and materials requested by the staff investigative group

(Materials include a synopsis of the investigative activities carried out by the U.S. Customs Service concerning the People's Temple.)

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI,
Chairman, Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: In connection with the Committee's inquiry into events relating to the People's Temple settlement in Jonestown, Guyana, Mr. Smeeton of the Committee's staff has recently contacted Mr. McBrien of my staff in order to clarify certain matters in which the Committee is interested. These involve possible illegal shipments to Guyana of guns, money and other materials.

We believe that the enclosed synopsis of the investigative activities carried out by the Customs Service concerning the People's Temple before the tragedy in Jonestown will assist the Committee in its endeavors to reach a fuller understanding of that incident.

We understand that the Committee has in its possession a Customs Service Report of Investigation dated August 26, 1977, discussing allegations against individuals involved in the People's Temple. Another agency erroneously released the report without our authorization. We request your consulting with us prior to the release or publication of any information contained in that report since it contains both criminal allegations against individuals and the identification of confidential sources.

If you have any further questions, please contact me; or you may wish to have your staff contact Mr. McBrien of my office (566-8534).

Sincerely,

RICHARD J. DAVIS,
*Assistant Secretary,
Enforcement and Operations.*

Enclosure.

SYNOPSIS

For more than a year, the law enforcement community in Northern California has received varieties of unconfirmed information, regarding unorthodox tactics utilized by the People's Temple Church to expand their holdings and control the activities of their members. Members of the Temple were required to relinquish all personal property to the Temple which in turn provided totally for the welfare of its members. Many relatives of members objected to this transfer of assets, particularly title to real estate. All earnings from conventional employment were considered the property of the Temple. There were numerous allegations that the Temple was encouraging welfare fraud in addition to the use of corporal punishment by Temple authorities. Many of these types of allegations were also reported in the San Francisco based media during this period.

In February of 1977, an unpaid informant of the Office of Investigations, U.S. Customs Service, offered to arrange a meeting between Special Agents and a group of former Temple members. It was alleged that the Temple was violating statutes related to the illegal export of firearms and negotiable instruments to the Temple's mission in Guyana.

A meeting was arranged with approximately 12 former members. The former members discussed several instances wherein they had witnessed the collection of weapons and currency which they believed had been illegally exported. They made further allegations regarding welfare frauds, civil rights violations, Temple association with right-wing extremists and political influence exercised at various levels of local, state, and Federal Government.

All the former members present were adamant in their belief that such violations had occurred, but the information was dated. None were able or willing to provide specific details sufficient to obtain search or arrest warrants.

The results of these meetings were provided to the BATF, FBI, Secret Service, Department of State and the California Department of Justice as well as various state and local law enforcement agencies.

Efforts were undertaken to cultivate sources of current information from Temple members and others relevant to the Customs violations, but proved unsuccessful. Surveillance activity identified several target vehicles, but there was no indication of illegal activity.

In early August of 1977, one of the former members who participated in the February meeting advised that she had identified a truck which had departed San Francisco with supplies for Guyana. She believed that crates of missionary supplies might also contain weapons or unreported currency. Lookouts were established and 90 crates of supplies were located. This shipment was examined in Miami with negative results. The American Embassy in Guyana was advised and responded that they had notified Guyanese authorities who would again search the shipment upon arrival. Guyanese authorities were also advised of the allegations and status of the Customs investigation via INTERPOL in late August.

During August and September of 1977, the majority of the Temple members joined Reverend Jones in an exodus from the San Francisco area to the mission in Guyana. Due to the subsequent lack of activity by remaining members, the Customs investigation was terminated.

Subsequent to the report of the murder of Representative Leo J. Ryan and the mass suicide in Guyana, U.S. Customs reopened the investigation. Presently, the Office of Investigations is cooperating with ongoing investigations by the FBI and Secret Service as well as debriefing returning Guyana survivors relative to Customs violations. Federal Grand Jury inquiries concerning the People's Temple and the Jonestown incident are also under way in San Francisco and New York.

EXHIBIT K

[From "Six Years With God," by Jeannie Mills, A & W Publishers, Inc., May 1979, pp. 301-306]

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gave her a little outfit she had been making. Candy gave her a big hug and a kiss.

"You know, Mom, we have another problem. We have fourteen children living with us, and we'll have to find a place to live. Do you know where there might be a house we can rent?" I asked.

"Are you going to bring all fourteen children with you?" she asked in surprise.

"Yes," Al answered. "These are our children, and they'll all be living with us."

She promised to watch for a house, and we scanned the classifieds to see what was available.

The next weekend, in the church service, Jim had a "treat" for all the members. He brought in huge vats of homemade juice that had turned to wine. "I want to give you all a treat," he said magnanimously. "You can consider this as a giant communion service." Nearly a thousand members went up, one by one, as he gave each person a drink of the wine. It was delicious, and many of the children who had never been allowed to taste wine before agreed that it was good. Several of the children popped back into line more than once and went home that night giggly and tired. On the way home, Al and I discussed the time just two years before when almost a hundred people had lined up to be whipped for drinking wine.

Jim sent the message to all the P.C. members that there was going to be an extremely important meeting Monday night and that every P.C. person was to be there without fail. The meeting was to be held in the San Francisco temple, and any person who didn't attend would be subject to discipline.

As Al and I walked on to the stage area of the church where all the chairs had been set up for a meeting, we were delighted to see Larry Schacht. We hadn't seen him for almost a year because he'd been at medical school in Mexico City. "This must really be an important meeting for Jim to have brought Larry here for it," Al said.

"I wonder what's so very important?" I asked. As we walked toward a couple of empty seats we got another surprise. Tim Stoen was in this meeting. He was excused from most of the services and most of the P.C. meetings because of his heavy work schedule as an assistant district attorney in San Francisco.

He spent all extra time giving free legal advice to members of the three congregations. All Jim's staff workers were present, too, which was unusual. Most of the time one or two of them were out on a "secret mission" during the P.C. meetings.

We sat waiting to find out what had caused Jim to call all these busy people away from their duties for this meeting. We had only

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The following Monday night was to be our last P.C. meeting. As our attention focused on the front of the room, we were surprised to see a gun at Jim's side. He solemnly announced, "I have heard that someone in this room is contemplating quitting our church. I want you to know that I am disgusted with those among us who contemplate being traitors to a group that is doing so much good." My heart jumped into my throat, and for a moment I thought I might pass out. The gun at his side seemed to grow ten feet long.

Still, I reasoned, I hadn't actually told anyone that we were quitting. I had called in an excuse for every meeting we had missed. As Jim slowly pointed the gun toward the group of counsellors, everyone looked frightened. "Tonight I am going to make certain that there is no question in anyone's mind about what happens to traitors."

At this inopportune time, Carol Stahl had to use the bathroom. She stood up and asked for permission to leave. Jim pointed the gun directly at her. "Where do you think you are going?" he screamed.

"I'm sorry, Father, but I have to go to the bathroom and I can't wait!" She was trembling with fright, but Jim didn't seem to notice.

"I said no one is to leave this room tonight, and I mean it. If you must use the bathroom, you can do it right here."

"But Father, it's number two," Carol said pleading.

"I don't care, you're among friends." Larry brought out the large fruit can that Jim used to urinate in, and handed it to her.

"Can I have a blanket in front of me?" she asked quietly.

"No! If you really have to go, you should be able to do it in front of us here."

Carol contemplated for a moment and knew that she couldn't wait, so she pulled down her pants and sat on the can. The hundred people assembled in the room watched her while she had a bowel movement, and someone handed her a tissue to wipe with. Carol had turned crimson. Someone in the room made a weak attempt at humor and said, "Father must have scared the shit out of her," but a stern look from Jim made him realize that this was no time for humor.

"Tonight is a very serious night and I don't want anyone in this room to go to sleep." It was almost as if Jim were a hypnotist and he had commanded Grace to go to sleep. Immediately her head began to nod. "Grace, I don't want to have to shoot you. You'd better stay awake tonight."

Grace felt sleepy but she could hear the threat in Jim's voice, so she stood up and remained standing for the rest of the meeting. Jim continued to talk about the rumor he had heard about

EXHIBIT L

[From the San Francisco Chronicle, Saturday, Aug. 25, 1979, p. 15]

FOCUS OF THE RYAN DEATH PROBE

The long federal grand jury investigation into the murder of Congressman Leo J. Ryan during his visit last November to the Peoples Temple colony in Guyana is not likely to lead to any indictments in California, a high-ranking Justice Department official said yesterday in Washington.

The Justice Department may instead concentrate its efforts on trying to build a strong case in the murder trial of Larry Layton, a follower of cult leader Jim Jones, who is accused of killing Ryan and four others.

Philip B. Heymann, head of the Justice Department's criminal division, said there are substantial problems in attempting to prove that Ryan's death resulted from a conspiracy hatched in San Francisco.

Unless it can be shown that the conspiracy to kill Ryan had its roots here—rather than in Guyana, where the mass Peoples Temple slayings were carried out—it would not be possible to win convictions in San Francisco, Heymann said.

The cases against Jones' lieutenants awaiting trial in Guyana are "probably clearer and stronger," he added.

Heymann said United States authorities will probably work in cooperation with Guyanese officials, assisting officials of that South American republic in their efforts to get key witnesses to testify in Layton's murder trial.

Layton, who was seized after Ryan and four others were killed at an airstrip shootout near Jonestown, Guyana, is expected to go on trial for murder this fall.

EXHIBIT M

[From the San Francisco Chronicle, Friday, Dec. 7, 1979, p. 14]

RYAN'S SON URGES PROBE OF TEMPLE

(By John Fogarty)

WASHINGTON—Representative Leo J. Ryan's son asked members of the House Foreign Affairs Committee yesterday to conduct "a thorough investigation" into questions that remain unanswered about Ryan's death last year at the Peoples Temple settlement in Guyana.

Christopher Ryan, 30, of Boston, made the plea during a memorial service held by the House Foreign Affairs Committee to dedicate a plaque for Ryan, who was investigating charges made against the cult when he was killed Nov. 18, 1978, near the Jonestown settlement.

"We are grateful for the honor you pay to my father," Ryan said in brief remarks at the service, "but the greatest honor you could pay him would be to conduct a thorough investigation of what caused the Peoples Temple so we can try to make sure something like the People's Temple does not happen again."

Ryan endorsed Representative Bill Royer's request to the Foreign Affairs and Judiciary committees of the House for hearings into how the State and Justice Departments handled complaints about conditions inside Jonestown. Royer, a Republican, succeeded Ryan as San Mateo County's representative in the House.

While two reports have been issued on the case by the State Department and the Foreign Affairs Committee, no hearings have been held into the deaths of Ryan and four members of his party and more than 900 residents of Jonestown who died in a suicide-murder ritual. The government has refused to release documents on Jim Jones, the Temple's leader and his followers.

In an interview following his speech, Ryan said he believes the tragic events in Guyana could have been avoided if the State Department and Justice Department had acted on complaints about the Peoples Temple that dated back to 1972. He said public hearings should be held so those responsible could explain why they failed to act for so long.

"If someone in government had done an adequate investigation of the complaints, they would have uncovered the horrors of Jonestown," Ryan said. "It should not have taken the death of my father to find out what was going on there."

EXHIBIT N

[From the Assassination of Rep. Leo J. Ryan and the Jonestown Tragedy, Staff Report of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, May 15, 1979, p. 43]

A. RYAN TRIP BACKGROUND

1. CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN HON. LEO J. RYAN AND VARIOUS MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

A. October 4, 1978, letter from Hon. Leo J. Ryan to Hon. Clement J. Zablocki

OCTOBER 4, 1978.

Hon. CLEMENT ZABLOCKI, Jr.,
Chairman, International Relations Committee,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Under the distinguished chairmanship of the Honorable Dante Fascell, the International Operations Committee, has become increasingly aware of the problems related to protecting the lives and property of U.S. citizens

abroad. As a member of the subcommittee, I have had a particular interest in this issue and would like, with your permission, to pursue an investigation focusing on the U.S. Government's ability and responsiveness in protecting Americans abroad in a specific case study.

It has come to my attention that a community of some 1400 Americans are presently living in Guyana under somewhat bizarre conditions. There is conflicting information regarding whether or not the U.S. citizens are being held there against their will. If you agree, I would like to travel to Guyana during the week of November 12-16 to review the situation first hand.

I have checked with the Chairman of the two subcommittees with jurisdiction, Dante Fascell and Gus Yatron, and they have no objection.

Your consideration of my request is appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

LEO J. RYAN.